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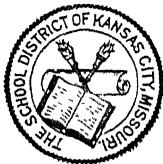
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JUST AMONG FRIENDS



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JUST AMONG FRIENDS

THE QUAKER WAY OF LIFE

by

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT

PRESIDENT EMERITUS OF HAVERFORD COLLEGE

New York

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

1941

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INTRODUCTION

THE BOOK which follows could not be more timely. It is an account of the way of life of a people who determined three hundred years ago to make the world their friends, and who, through persecution, neglect, and disintegration, have never failed in either work or testimony to uphold their faith. The Friends, those people called Quakers, once hoped to conquer the world by their courage, benevolence, and love. They have not—as is only too evident—done that. Indeed, they number now only the tiniest minority among the religious sects. And yet no one can doubt Dr. Comfort's statement that they have become a holding company for great ideas—tolerance, peace, Christian kindness to the enemy, economic and social justice, and active recognition of the brotherhood of man—which all men and women of good will share but have failed to put into communal practice. Quietly, and without slogans or campaigns, the Quakers have become the most trusted agents of humanity in an inhuman age. They carry relief where no others are permitted to go. They win the confidence of violent and dictatorial men because it is evident that they have freed their hearts of both violence and hatred. They have made a successful adjustment between what they

believe to be the will of God and what they regard as the proper will of man. They are not afraid to have confidence in a disciplined human nature.

Dr. Comfort's book, as the reader will discover, is neither a history of the Friends nor an account of their achievements, though it touches upon both. It is a simple and persuasive explanation of their way of life, and an account of how it came about, how it is perpetuated, and its results. It will be widely read by Friends, it should be read by the thousands to whom Quaker is only a name associated with peace and good works. But I think it will be of especial interest to those other thousands—far more numerous than the present society—who have, like myself, shared by inheritance or youthful experience the Quaker tradition and are aware of its power and its comfort.

No doctrinal peculiarity is responsible for the warmth and vigor of this tradition. Quakerism is merely Christianity writ plain, reduced to its primitive mysticism, and made practical by a discipline applied to the way of life of a Friend. Its core is neither the Bible nor the theology of a church, but rather the Inner Light, which is that intuition of the presence of God which makes it possible for the individual to discover what is evil for him and, by avoiding it, bring his being to a harmony. Thus Quakerism is the most individualistic of creeds, yet none has been so successful in communal action, and none has so consistently practised the precept to love thy neighbor as thyself.

If the Inner Light is the heart of Quakerism, its discipline is its bone and muscle. Restraint, moderation, deliberation, a sure response to conscience gained in silence and inner search, have their fruits in business, in racial and national relations, in family life, and in a content with experience no matter how difficult. Dr. Comfort has been a college president as well as a Quaker and does not make the mistake of the earliest Friends who believed that all humanity could conform to such a pattern. He notes that few leaders in politics, few great poets, great artists, philosophers, and makers of new knowledge have been Quakers. The emphasis has been too much on character and spiritual peace, too little upon the creative intellect and the creative passion for such leadership. There is a neuroticism in genius which does not fit into the Quaker way. And yet his book will make clear how far the old charges of quietism and obscurantism, once brought against the Quakers, are out of date. Their attitude toward war, for which they are most widely known, was once passive but has become active. War is now a call to action for the Quakers, who are engaged on every front in the dangerous task of carrying love and care of their fellowmen into the midst of destruction. They not only know, as does every sensible man, that there is no long-term hope for the world in defensive and offensive armament and military prowess, but they are already engaged in practising the good will which alone can insure the survival of a mechanized civilization.

It is quite clear after reading Dr. Comfort why one has to earn the right to become a Quaker, and by harder proofs than wearing the plain clothes which once (but no more) were the badge of the Society. It would seem that this "peculiar people," as they used to be called, represents in the evolution of society a mutation toward a new phase of human nature of immense importance in a world which, as we see today, is always slipping back toward cruelty, greed, and the sick need of satisfying injured vanity. Their 110,000 members here, and 30,000 odd abroad, do really represent a holding company for a workable faith in a future that at the moment seems so dark.

HENRY SEIDEL CANBY.

PREFACE

THEY LIKE to be called members of "the Religious Society of Friends," but nearly everybody calls them Quakers. However, what was in 1650 a term of derision has become in 1940 something of a compliment. For nearly three hundred years they have been showing a certain way of life, and now people are asking who they are and how they "get that way."

Some curiosity was aroused when the Philadelphia Award of \$10,000 was made in 1939 to the Chairman and the Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee. When *The Saturday Evening Post* and *Fortune* later published long articles on the peaceful Friends, it must be because the Quakers have news value. If the daily papers since Thanksgiving time in 1940 have carried eloquent appeals for French children, it is not strange that these appeals came from veterans of the American Expeditionary Force in 1917; but it is interesting that these appeals with the endorsement "without reservation" of General Pershing stated that "every penny received will be turned over to the American Friends Service Committee—the good Quakers—who are already at work in France, where 25,000 children are being taken care of by them."

Here a group of ex-soldiers had expressed unbounded confidence in a Society that has always trod the ways of peace. Was the confidence of these men and their old leader just a chance anomaly, or was it significant and natural? Things like that don't just happen. There is something more back of such good will to Friends.

Any form of religious faith or philosophy is properly judged by the best kind of people it produces. There are a few Quakers of whom nearly everyone has heard: George Fox, the inspired young prophet who found reality and vitality in the realization that there was something of God in every man, and that he must act in accordance with this belief; William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, called by some the most progressive statesman of the seventeenth century; John Woolman, the Quaker Saint of Mt. Holly, New Jersey, whose pure soul and tender conscience are mirrored in a *Journal* which ranks with the best literature of the kind; Joseph John Gurney, the learned banker of Norwich, whose visit to America was marked by a Quaker meeting for worship in the halls of Congress attended by the President and the highest officials of the Government; the latter's beautiful sister Elizabeth Fry, the angel of Newgate prison; Stephen Grellet, Franco-American Quaker of Burlington, New Jersey, whose travels in Christian love took him into the intimacy of nearly all the European sovereigns of his time; John G. Whittier, author of hymns beloved throughout Christen-

dom and valiant anti-slavery champion; lovely Lucretia Mott, doughty friend of the slaves; John Bright, one of the great constructive forces in modern England.

There is a strain of love of humanity running through all those fascinating lives which marks them with a common badge. Many other Friends have attained the same success in carrying over their faith into works. What is the secret of the power in those who have walked in this way of life, those who have lighted for others the spiritual and moral pathway in this modern world?

This little book is an attempt to answer this question in plain language. Other Christians seeking a sure anchor in the midst of a sea of troubles, mayhap some Quakers themselves, may find help in this record of how the Friends have tried to square their lives with their faith.

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT.

Haverford College
January 1, 1941.

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JUST AMONG FRIENDS

CHAPTER I

THE QUAKER FAITH

THE QUAKERS came up out of fertile soil in seventeenth-century England. They spread promptly to the Eastern colonies of the American continent and later shared in the migrations westward. At the present time, though widely scattered as individual families, they form considerable social groups in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, California, and Canada. The total membership of the Society in America is about 110,000.

That is not a very large number—less than one tenth of one percent of the population of the United States. Yet, a large part of the literate population of the country have heard of the Quakers: many have seen Quaker meeting-houses or have attended Friends' schools; more recently there have been news dispatches and magazine articles about relief work undertaken by the American Friends Service Committee.

Unless he had personal acquaintance with some Friends, however, the average citizen's knowledge would perhaps be expressed by such a statement as: "The Quakers are a queer people who say 'thee' and

'thou' to each other and who don't believe in war, but I guess they are pretty good citizens. Years ago we used to see them around sometimes. The men wore broad-brimmed hats and the women wore gray poke-bonnets, but they are not often seen nowadays." This statement represents scant knowledge, but it is fairly correct so far as it goes. Many Friends do use "thee" and "thy," though never "thou" in this country; most of them would not fight with carnal weapons, though upon occasion the Quakers have shown a lot of fight for their principles; they keep out of prison nowadays and even out of courts of justice; and finally, they used to wear distinctive dress, but have now practically ceased to do so.

If some well informed reader rises at this point to say that he knows a great deal more than has been indicated about the Quakers, it may be that he has attended a Quaker school or college, and he must remember that there are millions of our fellow-citizens who have never heard of this religious Society. Our statement is not too modest to be true of the average American.

We have in mind, however, at the present time, the attitude toward Friends held by fairly intelligent people—a sort of upper cut—who know some Friends personally and who not only tolerate them but who even respect them. They identify them not only with persistent efforts to preserve peace by living peaceably with all men, but they have often found them at the bottom of the pile of those who were struggling

over some other moral or social issue: temperance, anti-slavery, prison reform, capital punishment, the taking of oaths, care of the Indians, care of the insane, education, business relations with labor, the social order, and large scale relief of the hungry and oppressed. This is quite a long list, but it is not too long to be within the truth. In all these things the Quakers have been pioneers.

It would be incorrect, however, to assume from this list of Quaker interests that the Society of Friends originated nearly three centuries ago as a humanitarian movement, or that it is primarily such today. It was and is only secondarily so. These interests are only a visible expression of a faith which is far deeper and consequently less known to the world at large. The Friends themselves have abundant reason to know what this faith is, for it came to George Fox as glad tidings in 1646 and has been vigorously restated in every generation since. But it has been stated for the most part in such a way as to reach Friends only. They have not been greatly concerned, for over a century at least, to share their good things with those who might hunger for them. Of late, the Quakers have not been evangelistic.

It was not always so. For the first fifty years of their existence the Quakers were a zealous crusading and proselyting body of Christians. They scored the futility of an empty profession and of mere lip-service; they excoriated the hypocrisy and simony which were rank in the England of their time; they

convicted of sin and worldliness all and sundry who came to hear them plead for the sincerity, simplicity and sufficiency of a vital experience of the Holy Spirit in the individual heart. The love and grace and mercy of Jesus Christ were in their hearts for all men. They longed to bring all men not into Quakerism, but to the feet of Christ. For they knew in whom they believed and were persuaded that the Witness of Him in their own hearts was more valid than all sacrifices and burnt offerings. God is a Spirit, they were convinced, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth. The refusal to accept the sufficiency of mere words, formal ceremonies and professions of faith led them to express religion realistically as a way of life. That is what Quakerism is: a way of life. Its effects can be observed in what Quakers do, rather than in what they say. In reality, their way of life may be made a matter of experiment by others. If there is saving merit in this way of life, it must be discovered by living out the implications of personal responsibility to the Inner Light, the Witness in the individual heart. This responsibility cannot be fully discharged short of complete surrender of self and of complete distrust of all ingenious substitutes devised by men for that will of God which is revealed to them who diligently seek Him.

To proclaim this simple but exacting gospel the Quakers walked and rode up and down England for half a century, preaching to and recruiting thou-

sands of "seekers" who were dissatisfied with the spiritual offerings of the contemporary churches. At the rough hands of men under the Protectorate and the Restoration they were beaten, stoned and treated with contumely; under the law they were arrested on false charges, haled into court, fined, beaten, placed in stocks, and imprisoned by thousands in dank prisons and in stinking dungeons. Of what they accomplished of permanent import under these persecutions, their own testimonies and History itself tell: the establishment of the equivalence of an affirmation for an oath as a legal requirement in the British Empire and the United States; the guarantee of free and fair trial by jury without the directed verdict of a browbeating judge; the right of free assembly for religious worship. For all these things, which we accept as vested rights, the Quakers very literally suffered and died.

The hostility which the first "publishers of truth" encountered in England had several evident causes: the "priests and professors," as George Fox called them, resented the public castigation which the Quakers inflicted upon them for their hypocrisy, lip-service and simony, in the continual debates which were the delight of the seventeenth century; secondly, these same official representatives of religion were chagrined at the defection of their flocks at the call of these new itinerant preachers; thirdly, the application of certain contemporary laws made illegal the assembly of unrecognized sects, such as the

Quakers, in public places of worship; fourthly, apparently vagrants and far from home, the Quaker itinerant preachers aroused the fear of local magistrates lest they should become public charges in the parish; finally, the Friends were an easy mark for fines, imprisonment and distraint of goods, because they refused to pay tithes, to attend the authorized church services, and to remove their hats before civil authorities. When brought before judges and magistrates on these charges, the Quakers refused to take the oath of allegiance which was promptly tendered them. Thus, the case against them was complete. Unless the judge was personally favorable to them, as was sometimes the case, or unless the Quakers were able to prove an alibi or the patent inaccuracy of many of the indictments, their direct road led to prison and the appropriate levy upon their goods.

We have spoken only of Quaker activity in England. Not only in the court-houses, inns, fields, market-crosses and later meeting-houses of England did the Quaker "publishers of truth" bear their testimony to a spiritual message directly revealed without human intervention, but they crossed the seas in great numbers to America and the isles of the western ocean. Undismayed by trials on foot and on horse-back, men and women travelled again and again from Maine to the Carolinas in the early days of America's settlement. Other missionaries have carried the Quaker message to certain countries of Europe, to remote parts of the British Empire, and

even to the Orient. If it is valid anywhere, it is valid everywhere. In our day the Quakers form an international religious Society.

It will have been observed that in its emphasis upon a God-illuminated conscience and upon the obligations resulting therefrom, Quakerism offers nothing inconsistent with orthodox Christianity, nothing that is not shared by millions of Christians belonging to other communions. In the seventeenth century many English Quakers wrote controversial pamphlets to prove this fact, but today it is no longer necessary to labor the point. Quakers were then just dissenters, that is, people who as the word implies, felt differently from other people. They admitted the same truths, but they felt differently about them. They interpreted these truths in a different manner. Such distinction as there exists today between Quakers and other Christians is altogether a matter of emphasis.

Thus, the Friends speak much of baptism and communion, two of the sacraments so precious to Catholics and Protestants alike. But they mean something entirely different from what is meant by other Christians. They mean the baptism of the Spirit and not of water, because they say that Jesus did not baptize with water and nowhere enjoined his followers to do so. To be baptized with the Spirit and with power, however, means everything to the Quakers. Again, communion with them refers to a continuous state of vitality, and this means com-

munion of the Spirit and not partaking of the Lord's Supper as a frequently repeated act. One wing of the Roman Catholic Church even, the Jansenists, had qualms in seventeenth-century France about "frequent communion," which they discouraged as being too often a thoughtless rite, performed without due preparation. The *spiritual* communion of man with God, however, lies at the very center of the Quakers' faith. Without further quotation of texts in this connection, it may be said that they attribute great authority to the words: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him and sup with him and he with me." These words so completely describe in figurative terms the experience which they believe they may in reality enjoy, that further administration of the sacrament through bread and wine by a paid ministrant seems to the Quakers totally unnecessary. It is only the exaltation of the outward symbol over the inward reality to which they object. They believe that the observance of water baptism and of the communion are relics of the former law which Christ came deliberately to terminate, and that He inaugurated a new baptism and a new communion of the Spirit between Himself and his followers. Still, it should be made clear that in our day no Quaker treats lightly the benefits of those sacraments as practiced by many other Christians. Again, he uses the same words as his fellow-believers, but feels differently about them.

The Quakers dispense, then, with a great deal that is precious to other religious people because they feel that it is not essential, not vital. They seek to avoid the "killing letter" and get back to the simplicity of primitive Christianity as depicted in a society as yet free from the creeds and complications of a temporal church. They personally accept many of the beliefs and practices of the churches of today, and gladly share in their services. But they seek not to confuse what is essential with what may be merely pleasing to the senses or traditional as a ceremony. On the real field there are only two forces—God and the individual heart. All else may be merely creaturely, purely fortuitous; but from the presence of God there is neither escape nor desire to escape.

If this conviction is a real one to a Quaker, it means that he dispenses with much that spells Sunday religion. His is a religion that is to be lived, and lived every day. One day is as holy as another. He goes to a meeting for worship on First-day morning for community and for social reasons, not because he cannot meet God anywhere else. God is a Spirit and can speak to him as well in one place as another. He can practice with good hope the continual presence of God. If we ourselves and not an edifice, are temples of the living God, then even our secular activities must be so sanctified as to be worthy of Him and of his dwelling place. Our daily choices must be consciously in line with his will concerning

us. We must live to the glory of his Holy Name. Here then, is where a simple faith flows over into a wide field of human conduct. The carry-over value from faith to works is going to be very evident. We can understand now why it can be said that "Quakerism is a way of life," and why it is that people can observe so clearly what Quakers do, without understanding why they do it. The motive power for all they do is the simple faith declared in their meetings for worship, and many strangers have not known that they would be welcome at all these meetings.

From what has already been said about the belief in individual guidance by what George Fox called "that of God in every man," the reader versed in religious history will have put down the Quakers as mystics, and he will be right: that is what they are. In his autobiography Dr. Albert Schweitzer comments: "Of all the mysticism of the past it must be said that its ethical content is too slight. It puts men on the road to inwardness, but not on that of a living ethic." But the Quakers are the most practical mystics the world has ever seen. For there are mystics and mystics in Christian history. The Quakers are evidently not closeted with God in a private sanctuary, satisfied with the enjoyment of immediate communion with Him. If any revelations of the divine will have been vouchsafed to them, they are available to the world; if any duty has been laid upon them in their private meditations, they have

been up and at it, whatever the cost in effort and despite the obloquy heaped upon them. On the whole, however, men like to see sincerity and courage, and in the case of the Quakers the world's mockery has often been changed to respect, and condemnation to praise. Yes, the Quakers are mystics, but with an important distinction: they are practical mystics. Their commission comes to them over a private wire, but the results are broadcast. It is this carry-over from private mysticism to daily life in the world that we shall later try to account for and explain.

The writer was describing by request one evening to a French Catholic gentleman on the porch of a summer hotel some of the peculiar features of Quakerism. When the story was concluded, and the intelligent listener had expressed his interest and his sympathetic approval of the relief work which the Quakers have done in France, he asked the question: "Where does the Pope come in?" However disconcerting at the time, the question was a natural one for him to ask. Others may ask such a reasonable question.

Well, the Quakers have no pope, bishops or other clergy. There is no hierarchy, no one has authority over another. The ministry is a lay ministry, unpaid, and may be exercised by any member, man or woman. We may consider later the merits and drawbacks of this system. But for the present it may be explained that Friends believe, in accordance with

many texts and with human experience, that the Holy Spirit may speak to any man, that all men are on an equal footing before God, and that all ecclesiastical distinctions are of man's device. They have sought to avoid vicarious worship and all dependence upon a ministry exercised at stated times by designated and compensated individuals. "Freely ye have received, freely give" is an injunction precious to Friends. It will be observed that they have here eliminated at one stroke the entire ecclesiastical establishment which is so vital to many Christians.

It is a curious but defensible paradox to point out that the Friends do not fit precisely into either the Catholic or Protestant group of communions. They form a Society rather than a Church. They may be called a "third estate" in the Christian commonwealth of believers. It is said that upon a certain historic occasion in Ireland the people divided the population into Catholics, Protestants and Quakers. Due to contemporary conditions during their early history, they had public arguments with members of the other religious groups which at the time made of England a veritable cave of Adullam: Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopalians, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arminians, Fifth-Monarchy Men, Familists, Muggletonians and Ranters. They were far more persecuted by Protestants—Anglicans, Presbyterians and Lutherans, in England and on the Continent—than by Catholics. They themselves protested quite as vehe-

mently against the Protestant Churches as against that of Rome. The Quakers, in fact, belong in the same spiritual family as the Moravians, Mennonites, Schwenkfelders and other groups who followed the French, Swiss, Dutch and German "spiritual reformers" of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was a time when leaders like Boehme, Denck, Schwenkfeld, Menno, Franck, Castellio and others were seeking deliverance from the tightening grip of the Protestant creeds, and were proclaiming a simple life and a simple faith in God's direct dealings with each of his children.

Englishmen of the seventeenth century were hard hitters and plain speakers when religion was under discussion. The religious pamphlets of the time do not mince words, nor do they tread delicately. George Fox was persuaded, and he never wearied of saying it, that there was a heavenly Seed and an evil seed, and that the former was to triumph over the latter. He and his Friends felt it was their job to contribute to this victory. On one side was the serpent's head and the whore of Babylon and the devil and all his works; but on George's side was the heavenly Seed, the Light, the Spirit that was before the world, "a Savior, a Mediator, a Prophet, a Shepherd, a Bishop, a Leader, a Counsellor, the Captain of your salvation," the second Adam—Christ Jesus. All things were made new by Him, and the law and the hedge of the old dispensation were ended. There is a morass of apocalyptic figure and phrase added to

all this, from which we are now delivered. But the sum total of it is that the world's people had fallen away from the high calling with which they are called and had set up gods of their own creation. These modern gods of Baal must be thrown down, and George Fox spent a long life and his powerful physique in trying to do it. So did his followers. They had an evangelical mission to save man from his darkness and bring him back to the Light of which every man, Christian or pagan, has some share, however hidden, in his heart. Fox had no doubt of the triumph of light over darkness. As he said early in life in one of his most beautiful figures: "I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death: but an infinite ocean of light and love, which flowed over the ocean of darkness. In that also I saw the infinite love of God."

Now what did Fox mean by his "Light Within"? Something quite definite, though he used many words to describe it to his hearers and readers. A very recent addition to our studies of Fox and his message¹ has rendered a great service in extracting from his voluminous writings a brief statement to this effect: the Light is "that which shows a man evil (ethical side)," and it is "that in which is unity." And Miss King illuminates possible obscurity by continuing: "It is the same light that shows a man evil which, if lived in, will bring a man into

¹ Rachel Hadley King, *George Fox and the Light Within*, Philadelphia, 1940.

unity with God and with other Christians. Obviously, if the light is but one, those living in the light, and avoiding what the light shows to be evil, will be in moral harmony. This idea is implied throughout Fox's whole conception of the light that brings into unity."

The two consequences of these two functions of the Light, though dimly understood by many Friends today, are the pronounced Quaker sense of moral evil and their feeling of unity with the broad world of mankind. The reader interested in religious and ethical origins will find much information in Miss King's Yale dissertation, but we shall find enough here in the following pages to prove the validity of her interpretation of the Inner Light. As compared with the derivatives of Calvinism, the religion of George Fox ought to be a cheerful and hopeful religion. It teaches that the Light is timeless and is available for the help of all men; and moreover, that when it is taken as the guide of life, it brings one into unity with all other men in a society of friends. While thus remaining individual, it becomes international and universal. We do not have to look for this Light, or wait for it, or read about it; we have only to give it a chance to shine in our hearts and guide us, for it is always there. Moreover, there is no doctrine of election involved, for the Quakers following Fox believe that "my grace is sufficient for you," and that no one who will avail himself of it, is excluded from its beneficent operations.

It is quite evident that there have always been people who were inclined toward this faith in the directness of God's dealings. They are attracted by the very simplicity of it and by its elimination of what is sometimes a very faulty human element. They want to deal with God directly, to feel after Him if haply they may find Him. It is precious to them to believe that "This is life eternal, to *know* Thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." It is not enough for them to *read* about Him or *hear* about Him. They want to *feel* Him for themselves in their own hearts, they want Him to come in and sup with them. There are such people now, and there were many such people in the seventeenth century, when the spiritual fervor of the Protestant movement had been expended and its political affiliations were being discovered. Among such "seekers" in the middle of the century was George Fox. He and his followers were regarded as members of one more of the queer dissenting sects which were springing up in England. The Quakers were understood by neither the Presbyterians of the Protectorate nor the Anglicans of the Restoration. Because of their growing numbers they were bitterly persecuted for nearly fifty years. The history of all this period, when England was jittery over the plots of Papists and Fifth-Monarchy Men, may be read in many sources. But some idea of what Quakers suffered may be gained from the estimate that probably 15,000 suffered fines and im-

prisonment and 366 died in consequence during the second half of the seventeenth century in England. They evidently felt that they had found something very precious, for which they were willing to suffer and die.

Now a strange thing has happened. Whereas at the outset the Quakers were only one of several sects which passively endured the abuses of Protestantism, this small Society of Friends has proved to be the most influential and best known of them all. A small religious society has become, as it were, a "holding company" for millions of people who cherish ideals of pure spiritual religion—a religion which, if seriously lived, would bring the Kingdom of Heaven where it was meant to be—in the hearts of men. These are people who have ceased to respond to the excited calls of "Lo here" and "Lo there," but who know once for all where God is to be found and only ask to hear his voice:

Oh, give me Samuel's ear,
The open ear, O Lord,
Alive and quick to hear
Each whisper of Thy word!
Like him to answer at Thy call,
And to obey Thee first of all.

Since the sufferings of the first decades, there has been a long series of men and women who have cherished this spark of obligation to respond to their high calling. The permanent importance of the Quaker contribution, the validity of emphasis upon

certain essentials, has never been so highly esteemed as it is today. Any faith which can produce such personalities in their respective day and generation as George Fox, William Penn, Isaac Penington, George Whitehead, John Woolman, Elizabeth Fry, William Allen, Mary Dudley, Stephen Grellet, John Bright, John G. Whittier and Lucretia Mott—any faith which can produce such force for human welfare—must claim attention. Not their theology, but their deeds, speak for them.

Since the earliest days, when the Quakers were vigorously attacked on theological grounds by the Anglicans and Calvinists, they have not carried much theological baggage. In this respect they travel light. Few individuals in their history, since Robert Barclay wrote his famous *Apology* in 1678, have been sufficiently competent to qualify as theologians. The Friends have no theological schools, and do not often discuss today matters of doctrine. Though sporadic attempts have been made in some quarters from time to time to agree upon a creed, the main body of the Society has always resisted these efforts to define the indefinable. Friends have followed Penn who wrote: "Men make too many things necessary to be believed to salvation and communion. Persecution entered with creed-making."

The most authoritative statement of the Quaker faith in terms resembling a creed is considered to be that contained in a letter of Fox addressed, in 1671,

to the Governor of the Barbadoes where he then was. Strange to say, there is nothing in the letter about the Holy Ghost nor any of the succeeding articles of the Apostles' Creed; but that is because contemporary accusations against Friends were generally focussed upon the first two Personages of the Trinity. In this letter, much too long to be quoted, Fox emphasizes "that we do own and believe in God, the only wise, omnipotent and everlasting God, the creator of all things both in heaven and in earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made; who is God over all, blessed for ever: to whom be all honor and glory, dominion, praise, and thanksgiving, both now and for evermore.

"And we own and believe in Jesus Christ, his beloved and only begotten Son, in whom he is well pleased; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, etc."

In connection with the much discussed question of the relation of the Society of Friends to the World Council of Churches, one of the most important Yearly Meetings has recently defined the Society of Friends in its simplest terms as "a religious body which, having never required of its members the acceptance of any formula of belief, holds that the basis of fellowship is an inward experience, and that the essentials of unity are the love of God and the love of man conceived and practiced in the spirit of Christ."

It is probable that no man ever claimed that he

knew too much to be a Quaker, that he was too smart to be a Friend. It is indeed difficult for anyone to educate himself to a point beyond the central truth maintained by Quakerism today as always. That point is, as we have seen, the awareness of something of God in every man, which is Spirit, which operates spiritually, and which obligates us to be perfect even as He is perfect. Friends think of this Spirit as requiring no human medium of communication, and of obedience to it as the primary blessing attached to the Kingdom of God. When Christians have reached and passed that point, it will be time to search for some higher and more exacting inspiration.

The simple, yet stimulating sufficiency of the Quaker profession was well stated in 1895 by one of the greatest of Quaker scientists, Professor Silvanus P. Thompson, in a paper written by request for the Conference of the Society of Friends at Manchester, printed for private circulation by Morris and Yeaman:

"Here then," says Professor Silvanus P. Thompson in answering affirmatively the question *Can a scientific man be a sincere Friend?* "in the stress of modern problems, the true Friend may go forward, finding scope for his faculties, not fearing amid evil report and good report to use them. Man of science he may be, if such be his bent of mind and his training; and man of science none the less sincerely because he is a true Friend. For what is a Friend but

one who, illuminated by the quickening spirit, has learned to cast off the incrustations which ignorance and intellectual pride or intellectual folly have during the centuries built up around the simple core of Christ's teachings?" After dispensing Friends of belief in the resurrection of the body and in water baptism, he continues: "Other ordinances, other items of dogmatic creed which modern thought has shown to be untenable, we as Friends have either rejected from the first, or have never held to be essential. Foremost, the entire rejection as unscriptural of the idea of a priestly caste, with its figment of a physically communicated apostolic succession. The true priesthood of all believers, the true succession of apostolic gifts, we acknowledge, but how differently. One is our Master—even Christ—and all we are brethren. To our own Master we stand or fall. No man shall step in between our souls and our God. . . .

"Being Friends, we are, to the unspeakable gain of our souls, preserved alike from those diseased word-battlings that afflict so many honest and sincere but less enlightened Christians, and from the torturing fear that science may one day undermine our faith. We have learned a new and more blessed meaning to the words trust and love. We have reached a stronger anchorage of hope and felt a higher incentive to prayer. We have found a stronger because purer faith. We have learned that sin being a spiritual disease requires a spiritual

remedy. We have advanced beyond the materialistic notion that sacrifice is better than obedience. We have learned that there is no infallible man, no infallible church, no infallible book. We have learned that creed is not separable from conduct; that a man's religion is not that which he professes, but that which he lives; that our dealings with our fellow men must be from no lower standpoint than that of the springs which govern our inmost thoughts and actions. The habit of accurate thought and speech, of letting yea mean yea and no more, which is characteristic of Friends, is one that the scientific method tends ever to strengthen. From modern thought truth has nothing to fear; rather should we welcome it as a God-sent means to sweep away the incrustations of error. Before it may go down mere mediaeval survivals, Jewish modes of thought, and customs hallowed only by the tradition of men . . . But all that is true, all that is real, all that is vital will remain, will prosper, will grow; and our growth in the truth will be all the more sure because modern thought shall have cleared away so much that choked and hindered the clear in-shining of the divine light of Christ in the soul."

A more recent and very liberal statement addressed of late by a group of Friends "To the scientifically minded," contains this significant paragraph: "The Religious Society of Friends is a group of people of good will, working together for mutual support in making the God-element of life the com-

manding element. We never altogether succeed in doing this, but the effort is an essential part of our religion. It is only by squarely facing what *is* that man may hope to accomplish what *may be*: wherefore religion as we understand it has nothing to fear from science. Indeed, we welcome every extension of mental horizon, every new discovery as to the nature of the world we live in."

There is at the present time considerable variation in what the Quakers regard as non-essentials of faith. There is, indeed, no effort made to bring individuals into a fixed pattern of faith. But it may be said that they have never made any formal statement opposed to the Apostles' Creed of the Anglican Church, though some of them today would question the certainty or importance of some of the articles of that creed. Great latitude as between individuals and between different bodies of Friends certainly prevails today touching the parentage of Jesus of Nazareth. But there is no difference in the recognition of Him as a chosen Vessel of perfection designed by God to show mankind the way, the truth and the life which can alone lead to the salvation of the individual and of the race. The first fourteen verses of the gospel according to St. John are to the Friends an abiding authority.

Thus, the Holy Spirit, the Word, proceeding from the Father and clothed with flesh in the person of Jesus Christ, is the guiding influence in Quaker thought. The Comforter who shall abide with man

forever is identified by them with that Light which lightens every man that cometh into the world. This Light or Word has been accessible to man in all ages, but it received its most complete revelation in the love, mercy, grace and truth in Jesus Christ. Far from regarding the life of Christ, however, merely as an isolated historic event to which mankind is destined forever to look back with pathetic longing, the Friends believe in a continuing revelation of God's will and nature. They do not hold to a faith once for all delivered to the Saints, but to a faith capable of infinite development and better understanding as man grows in his spiritual capacity. Hence Quakerism is not static and does not feed upon man-made creeds. It has no use for a closed revelation. The faith wrapped up in a napkin is insufficient. It lives in hope of seeing farther behind the veil, and thrills to the discovery of better ways of performing God's will.

Just as someone asked "Where does the Pope come in?" so another may ask "Where does the Bible come in?" For the men of the Reformation the Bible took on a new importance. For them it was the official, inspired record of the relations of God and man. It was a definitive edition of God's word. It stood there once for all as the statement of what was essential for man's salvation. They based their body politic and their body ecclesiastical upon its pattern. They read it in their churches, sang it in their psalms, taught it in their schools, and cited

it in their controversies which were battles of texts. The Quakers standing, as we have seen, aloof from the more powerful Protestant communions, regarded the Bible from a somewhat different angle. In the early days of the Society, they read it in private constantly and almost uniquely, and in their sermons quoted exclusively from it. The phraseology of their militant pamphlets is equally biblical. But it taught them no political system and no ecclesiastical system. It was not for them the final authority, as it was for the Calvinists and Lutherans. It was corroborative of something more ultimate than itself, of that which was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, even the Spirit of truth which shall guide us into all truth. The case is best stated by George Fox in describing one of his "openings": "Now the Lord God opened to me by his invisible power 'that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ'; and I saw it shine through all; and that they that believed in it came out of condemnation to the light of life, and became the children of it; but they that hated it, and did not believe in it, were condemned by it, though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the pure openings of the Light, without the help of any man; neither did I then know where to find it in the Scriptures, though afterwards, searching the Scriptures, I found it. For I saw in that Light and Spirit which was before the Scriptures were given forth, and which led the holy men of God to give them forth, that all must come to that Spirit,

if they would know God, or Christ, or the Scriptures aright, which they that gave them forth were led and taught by.”² We are not all like George Fox, but we have in this sentence, which he frequently restates in other words, the Quaker attitude toward the Bible.

The Friends, then, regard the Bible subjectively, so to speak, rather than objectively. The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life. So they always sought the Spirit to aid in understanding the Bible. They did not take it as a blueprint for a form of government as the Calvinists did, nor as the final authority for a Church as the Catholics and Anglicans did. They took it and they still take it as a spiritual guide-book, to be read privately and devotionally. For them it is unique, the most precious volume in the world, because they think that the prayerful consideration of its inspired teachings will lead them to “eternal life,” with all the implications of that inclusive phrase. But as the Holy Spirit existed before the authors of the Bible books were inspired, so it still exists today and forever, available for the inspiration, understanding and interpretation of new revelations, guiding us into all truth. Friends, then, believe in a continuing revelation, a further unfolding of divine purpose as man is able to receive it. The Bible is important not as a fetish, but as a record of something still more important than itself: the Holy Spirit. The Bible is of value to Friends not

² *Journal*, 1:34-35, London, 1901.

because what is in it is true, but because what is true is in it. The final reference must be to the Spirit or Word which inspired it, and which alone can interpret it, and that Word is eternally alive and at work.

At different times contemporary society has honored the Quakers either by persecuting them or by respecting them. The story of their persecution makes interesting reading. But at present they are treated with a respect not incompatible with ignorance. It is easy to see how respect and ignorance may go hand in hand. People may respect what they can see; they are ignorant of what they cannot see. Full credit has been given to the Society of Friends for its contribution toward the spiritual assets of the society of nations. But the ignorance of Quaker faith and practice still remains undispelled. If the Friends have utilized any spiritual resources not fully tried by other Christians, they should share them with their fellows. If works can be made to follow more immediately upon faith, many would like to know how it may be done. Remembering that the faith of the Friends is not different from that of other Christians, we are ready to see how emphasis upon a certain principle has effected striking results. What we want to find out is: what makes the Quakers act as they do?

CHAPTER II

QUAKER MEETINGS

WHEN ANYONE joins the Society of Friends, he does so for one or both of two reasons. He says that he likes the Quaker way of worship, or he believes in what the Quakers are doing. Rarely is there anything said about theology or about the details of faith. He does not have to sign any articles or even any statement. He is admitted after diligent inquiry by the Meeting, following a written statement that his religious aspiration can best be satisfied by the Society of Friends. He is expected to have attended meetings for some time and to have studied the principles of the Society, as set forth in divers places, and to say that he shares them. He wishes to partake in the opportunities which the Society offers to engage in a personal spiritual worship and in the lines of work which it supports. In brief, he aspires to a certain way of life governed by spiritual guidance.

However inadequate in the minds of some, these two reasons may be for taking such a serious step, they are all that is required. It has been shown how lightly the Friends bear upon theology. The new member will rarely hear a doctrinal sermon, but he

will soon be aware that he has joined a religious society with quite definite principles governing its conduct. He will find himself a member of a fraternity that has no initiation ceremonies, but in which there is a profound, though indefinite understanding—a community of effort to live a certain kind of life. He discovers that he is breathing another air, and that he has some responsibility besides going to meeting for an hour a week. He will find that his First-day worship must spread out into his week-day contacts. We have seen why this is, and how there is a carry-over from meeting with God to meeting with man in business and in society. The Quakers have what Caroline E. Stephen¹ called “a portable and verifiable religion.” Some Friends are weak and inconsistent and uncharitable, but it would be rare to find them going forth from meeting to drink to excess, to play cards for money, to bet on a horse-race, to stab another’s good name, to plan an unethical business deal, to take an oath, or to seek a divorce. The world views such things with varying degrees of sanction or disapproval. But the Quaker is constantly reminded by the age-long examples of his forebears, as well as by repeated *Advices* and *Queries* addressed to him, that his profession makes incumbent upon him a certain way of life implying at least sobriety, honesty and charity. These words cover the general confession of the Anglican Church: “That we may hereafter live a

¹ *Quaker Strongholds*, 4th ed., London, 1907, p. 20.

godly, righteous and sober life to the glory of thy holy name." But what is a resemblance in phraseology may work out differently in practice. The effect of either intention depends upon a long tradition stored up in the lives of people who have held these Quaker ideals or who have repeated this beautiful Anglican prayer.

Meetings for Worship

The meeting for worship is the point at which many strangers have their first experience with Quakerism. The first sensation of such a stranger must be a sense of lack. The Quaker meeting-houses are as plain and simple as the doctrine that is preached in them. In this respect there has never been any tendency toward extravagance. The expense to which some Christian bodies have put themselves for architectural beauty and wealth of interior display has been avoided. For the meeting-house is not a consecrated edifice; it is not sacred *per se*, but only as what transpires there is sacred. No altar will be seen, no lighted tapers, no cross, no baptismal font, no mural tablets, no stained glass windows; no organ will be heard, no choir-boys, no doxology, no call to prayer, and no collection will be taken up. "When is it going to begin?" is the question which many a stranger has asked himself, as from twenty to two hundred Friends come in and take their seats on the wooden benches in silence.

Silence is the great Quaker word, whose implications we are particularly to notice. Friends' meetings habitually are held on the basis of a living, expectant silence. It is the only word which might appropriately be inscribed in a meeting-house as in a library or in a monastery. For out of silent waiting for the Spirit to make itself heard in each expectant heart must break forth any spoken word uttered for the help of those present. In a few moments after the last persons arrive, the meeting "gathers" or "centers down," as the old phraseology has it. In an ideal meeting for worship there should emerge from the concentrated spiritual exercise of those present a message which is in tune with this exercise. We are speaking of what may be something of a mystery to many, and which yet will be perfectly intelligible to those of certain experience in spiritual communion. After meeting, it is not unusual to hear someone say that his mind was engaged in meditation upon precisely the same subject or even the same verse of Scripture as the one to which utterance had been given by someone else. The spoken message may vary greatly in depth and in spiritual content, but it frequently happens that the first speaker catches from the silence the words that are needed to voice the aspirations of his fellow-worshippers. If a key-note is struck early in the hour of worship, others may add to it, develop it or apply it in helpful ways, after which the meeting may close in a prayer or in deep silence. Though the responsi-

bility for the spoken ministry is shared in theory by everyone present, in practice certain persons have a greater experience than others and may, if desired, be "recognized" or "recorded" by the meeting at large as Ministers; in this case such men and women, together with Elders and Overseers similarly selected, sit on benches facing the rest of the congregation.

Worship of Almighty God is doubtless the most exalted exercise of which the human mind is capable. The Quaker method of worship is the most exacting of all methods in the demands it makes upon the mind and spirit. It is doubtless true that some persons are incapable of meeting these demands. It is certainly true that very many more would be unwilling to try to meet these demands. Fortunately, there is no reason why they should make the attempt. It is nobody's business to judge of the efficacy of another's manner of worship. Friends have never failed to respect other forms of worship *if* the life showed the unmistakable effects of the benefits claimed from a fixed service. What the Friends inveighed against in the seventeenth century was the patent inconsistency between the profession and the life. They do so no longer. More regard is had now for the amenities in religious discussions, if not in political debates. But in judging themselves, which is a more profitable exercise, Friends expect a definite expression in life of the Light Within.

What do Friends seek in the silence of their meetings? The question is a fair one. May we attempt an answer? When they wish to worship, either in private or as a gathered people, the Quakers seek silence. Their experience, and the experience of many others, is that they rise to their best selves in silent meditation upon Perfection. They give thus a chance to "that of God" in them to assert itself, to claim its rights, to assume guidance of the errant human spirit. The deepest desires of the human spirit readily find an answer in the Holy Spirit which comes in and assumes its rightful place, if we are children of God, feeling for his presence and longing for the assured support of his everlasting arms. Long experience shows that out of such a living silence there may come precious openings of truth, and that words may be spoken to the condition of those present. When the spoken ministry is exercised under the leading of the divine Spirit, and not under the stress of a fixed engagement, it is felt that it is truly a response to a community need, and the spiritual level of the meeting is lifted to a higher plane. Comforted, supported, inspired, as the case may be, the worshipper does not take leave of God for a week; but inwardly assured of His loving presence, he goes out with a tendered conscience to meet the tasks ahead, strengthened in his purpose to live under divine guidance to the glory of his Master's name.

Such meetings for worship are held in most places

twice a week, on First-day and on some week-day morning. If they are true to the historic pattern, such meetings are unprogrammed, and no one knows in what direction the thoughts and words of those present may be led by the Spirit. In many parts of America, however, in connection with a period of silent worship, a more formal service with sermon and music has found favor. But one truth was discovered a long while ago and recorded as his experience in 1660 by William Caton (1636-1665), when he said regarding the ministry: "I have often observed and found by experience, that by how much the more I felt the weight of the service of the meeting, before I went into it, by so much the more was my service in it, and my reward accordingly."²

It is well to understand that one should not drop in casually to a Friends' meeting with the expectation of something mysterious happening. The mind and spirit must be reasonably prepared in advance to receive and perchance to give some of the bread of life. This truth has been well brought out by recent writers on the spiritual preparation for the spoken ministry. The difference between specific preparation for this ministry and the cultivation of a fundamental attitude toward worship is well stated by D. Elton Trueblood³ when he says: "That preparation for worship and for effective ministry is necessary can hardly be said too often or too

² *Life of William Caton*, London, 1839, p. 89.

³ *Studies in Quaker Worship*, Philadelphia, 1935, pp. 33.

strongly. Though the meeting for worship is indeed the workshop of the ministry, the worker there cannot be a good craftsman if he has not already provided himself with materials from which to make his finished product. The thoughts that come in the hour of worship are often new creations, but novelty requires background. If a man does not have a well filled mind he cannot hope to have anything effective to say or even think." And while suggesting that the expectant mood, human love, meditation and reading, and the possession of a leading idea, are all practical helps in preparation for Quaker worship and ministry, he quotes Rufus M. Jones: ⁴ "The Quaker group silence, the cooperative brainwork of the entire assembly, the expectant hush, the sense of divine presence, the faith that God and man come into mutual and reciprocal correspondence, tend to heighten the spiritual quality of the person who rises in that kind of atmosphere to speak. But that group situation, important as it is, will not work the miracle of producing a message for the hour in a person who is sterile and has nothing to say." It is to this work of spiritual cooperation that the worshippers in a Friends' meeting are called. If they reject it, there will be no spoken ministry and the Meeting will eventually be closed.

Probably no congregation could survive permanently without some spoken ministry. The Friends have certainly demonstrated in their history that,

⁴ *The Trail of Life in the Middle Years*, N. Y., 1934, p. 45.

despite all the importance they attribute to silence, their Meetings cannot long survive if totally deprived of spoken ministry. Though less valued than the privilege of silent worship, the ministry, then, is essential. We are only human and we depend upon some expression, however humble and halting, of our religious aspirations. Yet, it should give pause to some who minister to the religious needs of others, when they consider how fleeting is their influence through the spoken word. Few persons, even the greatest, are remembered with gratitude for what they ever said; they are remembered for their lives and for their acts. As St. Paul said, it is not eloquence but love alone which prevents us from being as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. And so, though it is admitted that no group can worship in silence indefinitely week after week, yet Friends always have put life ahead of words, and for them it is not the talk but the walk that counts.

The disadvantages and the advantages of such a system may be briefly considered. One danger is that the silence may be a "dead" silence, that is without spiritual life, in which sleep asserts its claim on a tired brain, or in which thoughts continue to be engaged on secular subjects. The escape from secular thoughts is exactly what we wish to effect, and yet it is so hard to accomplish. By many people the habit of concentration itself is seldom practiced. Those who are intellectually or spiritually inexperienced may fail completely to concentrate.

They require some appeal to their senses through the eye or ear. It is regrettable that the Quaker appeal is rarely effective with persons whose experience is slight in silent concentration. Fortunately these are reached by the method of worship of other religious bodies. But those whose minds are trained to focus and concentrate quickly upon an intellectual problem should not find it difficult, with some practice, to carry over into the realm of pure spirit.

Another drawback is that the very freedom of such a ministry makes it possible for a misguided enthusiast to speak of some personal concern or irrelevant secular topic in which he is interested and upon which he takes this opportunity to intrude his opinion. From his standpoint this is merely an error in judgment as to the fitness of the occasion, and such an error is more likely to be made by a stranger than a Quaker. Many otherwise legitimate topics in the field of politics, economics, sociology and philosophy are controversial and have no place in a meeting for worship. In the course of nearly three centuries there have been many occasions when troublesome speakers have had to be silenced. An intimation that the intrusion is unwelcome is usually sufficient. But it cannot be too strongly urged that a Quaker meeting is not a public forum. It is an effort to discover the spiritual sources from which all secular activity should flow. The Quaker ministry is not judged by its oratory nor by its facile delivery, but by its spiritual depth, truth and sincerity,

however briefly or haltingly expressed. It should search the heart and incite to virtue.

Another disadvantage of the free ministry is the possibility of the messages being incongruous with each other, that is, failing to be developed coherently along the same general line, so that a united collective impression may be carried away. This may happen when a member mistakes a call to speak instead of keeping silence. Such mistaken responsibility is called "creaturely activity" in Quaker parlance and is well recognized as a danger to be avoided by diligent attention to divine guidance. All the great Quaker preachers, the "public Friends" who travelled widely in the ministry, knew well when to keep quiet as well as when to speak. They refer constantly in their journals to being "poor," "dry," "empty," "stripped." They meant that no message was vouchsafed to them, even upon occasions when vast throngs had come in expectation of hearing them. If no message was given, they did not make one up. Samuel Fothergill once continued his service beyond the limits of his inspiration, but a wise Elder told him frankly: "There thou lost thy guide, thou thrust thy hands into thy own pocket and helped thyself." Stephen Grellet with the greatest international reputation of them all, says that the meetings which he attended in Bristol, England, were much crowded "to see the poor stranger, but I was dumb with silence." Indeed, he says that for five successive meetings it was "as possible for me to create a world as to open my mouth in gospel

line." There was only one remedy for such poverty: all of self must be purged away and the human vessel left clear for the passage of the Spirit. If the meeting is left in the Lord's hands, He will feed his waiting people in the manner best suited to their condition. Again and again it is out of the silence that the Voice has been heard in the individual heart. Beside the spoken word, there is a ministry of silence.

On the other side of the balance sheet there are some real assets which frequently appeal to strangers. In the first place, silence is so hard to find, especially a collective silence, that many unquestionably profit by it in a Friends' meeting. Most localities are noise-ridden, most churches offer a continuous programme in their order of service. Men especially enjoy the opportunity for quiet which they find so rare in their business day. Then, the variety of thought and presentation offered by a "free" ministry avoids the monotony sometimes encountered in the weekly offerings of a single minister. Thirdly, the absence of a somewhat exacting creed and of the distractions of a varied service happens to harmonize with the preference of some worshippers. As Quakerism is but one variety of religious experience, so the Quaker meeting is but one variety of religious service. For some Christians it would be so lacking in essentials as to be thoroughly unsatisfactory; for others, weary of forms and ceremonies, it might answer their needs. These latter feel with Whittier: "God should be most where

man is least." A Friend of long ago asked: "Who would talk when God is at work?"

Connected with most meetings there are First-day schools whose classes meet either just before or just after the meeting for worship. In most cases the teachers in these schools serve voluntarily. These schools are by no means exclusively concerned with the Bible. They are at their best when dealing with small children whom they instruct as best they may, or with adults who frequently form themselves into forums for the discussion of problems of applied Christianity.

The solemnity of silence is generally recognized. Silence is far more impressive than noise. Thus, Quakers use a silent grace before meals, they provide for silence at weddings and funerals and at their meetings for the transaction of business. Many committees and board-meetings open with a short silence when no word is uttered, but a spirit of unity and charity is begotten among those present. Silence seems more fitting than the peremptory order for someone to "lead in prayer." Ambition, self-seeking and all domination is put aside in the desire to proceed to business in the spirit of love and wisdom as the group may be led.

Meetings for Business

This brings us to the Quaker meetings for business, the Monthly, Quarterly and Yearly Meetings,

through which important business is progressively passed for approval. A business man, accustomed to decisions by majority vote, will be surprised to learn that in their business meetings and in many of the boards which govern their institutions, no vote is ever taken. Not a chairman, but a clerk, presides, introduces the business and records the judgment of the meeting as expressed by its most "weighty" members. If there is at first a diversity of judgment as to the wisdom of a certain procedure, the Clerk may suggest a period of silence for devout consideration before more is said, or he may record that the meeting was unable to "go forward" with unity, and the subject is tabled for further reference to a committee or a future meeting. No favorable action is "minuted" by the Clerk until he is persuaded by *viva voce* approval that the meeting is substantially united and that there is no further objection to the proposal.

Let us suppose, for example, that some Friend is concerned that a committee of members be appointed to counsel young Quakers as to their duty to the Government and to their Quaker conscience. Attention is called to the fact that there may be a serious conflict in such cases, and that youth may need help in making far-reaching decisions. After the Friend has shared his concern and taken his seat, a silence befitting the seriousness of the subject may ensue. Then several members will express their approval of the proposal by saying "I hope that

will be done," "I approve of that action," "I do, too," "So do I," etc. If there is no voiced objection, the Clerk draws a "minute" recording the action and asks for names of suitable persons to serve on such a committee of counsel. It is customary to appoint on committees only persons who are present, so that they may decline at once if for any reason they are unable to serve. Appointments may be referred to a standing nominating committee, where one exists, for report to the next meeting. In any case all appointments are made either from the floor in open meeting, or if entrusted to a nominating committee, must be approved by the entire membership present at a subsequent meeting. Neither the Clerk nor any other *one* person may appoint another individual to any committee service or other responsibility; he only suggests, and his suggestion must be specifically approved. This procedure insures complete democratic control of all business. In this case the "minute" would read:

"Attention of Friends was called to the situation in which our young men may find themselves at the present time. The claim of the Government through the draft and the claims of conscience may make them hesitate as to their duty. The meeting after deliberation felt it right to appoint the following committee to have a care in counselling such cases as may be called to their attention." (The names of those appointed follow.)

Or let us suppose that some enthusiastic member

proposes to address a resolution of approval concerning his foreign policy to the President of the United States. Such direct communications have often been sent, but this particular proposal seems unwise to the meeting. One member says "I think it would be unfortunate to send such a resolution," or "I believe we are not united in the wisdom of such action," or "This does not seem to be a proper time to put ourselves on record in this manner," or "I believe it would be wise to take no action." The Clerk then records that "consideration was given to a proposal that this meeting send a resolution commending the President for his recent statement regarding the foreign policy of the administration. The meeting felt that it would be unwise to take any action at the present time."

The motto of Quaker procedure is "when in doubt, wait." Consequently, there has been a great deal of waiting in Quaker history, but when a body of Friends has gone forward in any enterprise, spiritual or secular, it has generally gone forward in complete unity and with the full weight of unanimous conviction behind it. We have gotten away from silence with these words, but the Friends do not get away from it in their business. There is plenty of silence interspersed in the business, and the meeting closes with another short period of quiet, when all diversity is swept away in a feeling of good will and charity toward all. The effect of this method of procedure is that there are no heated

arguments, no high words, no attempt to stampede the gathering, for all these measures are felt to be out of place in such a presence. The smoothness and efficiency of the system is evidence of the divine guidance to which all business is entrusted.

A large amount of Quaker business is transacted by committees and reported by them to the larger group at stated times. There are in nearly every large Quaker community committees on peace, on ministry and oversight, on care of those "in necessitous circumstances," on education, on extension work, on publications, on foreign missions, on race relations, on the social order, on church unity, on temperance, on the Indians, on young Friends, on foreign service, on refugees, besides the committees in charge of certain funds and certain semi-independent institutions for which Friends are in some degree responsible, such as schools, colleges, asylums, hospitals and libraries, etc.

There is, of course, nothing remarkable about the use of committees in the preparation of business. But the faithfulness of Friends in attending the meetings of these committees is remarkable. It is a constant source of wonder to see very busy men and women give up many hours each week to the consideration of interests over which as agents they have been appointed to watch. Some Friends confess to the soft impeachment that they spend more time on the Society's business than they do on their own affairs. The accuracy with which all records

are kept and circulated among members is impressive, as also is the punctuality with which the hour of assembling is observed. One Friend of the last generation is reported to have apologized if he arrived one minute *before* the appointed hour! We can but wonder what he would have said, if he arrived one minute late. Some feel that this committee business is overdone in these latter days, but there is no sign of its being curtailed. There is no doubt that it is in committees that Friends do some of their most characteristic and significant work. The committee is the channel for the overflow from faith to works.

It has been said that no collection is taken up in the Friends' meeting for worship. A word, therefore, should be said about the method of paying the current expenses of their Meetings. Funds may be held by the trustees of Monthly, Quarterly or Yearly Meetings. These funds may have resulted from bequests and may be intended for general or for special purposes, such as educational scholarships, care of meeting-houses, care of the aged or indigent, or for the publishing of books and tracts. Committees are appointed to administer the income from such funds and report annually in writing to the Meeting which appointed them. For current expenses, however, the Monthly Meeting is the unit and alone is the source of what we may call taxation. Every Monthly Meeting has an annual budget prepared by the Treasurer and a committee appointed by the Meet-

ing. To meet this budget and raise the necessary funds a collecting committee is appointed which suggests to each head of a family or independent person a certain amount as his share of the total required. Shares vary according to the ability to pay, and anyone may ask to have his share revised if it does not seem to him fair. In this way the amount required for the budget is raised at one time for the entire year. In the budget of each Monthly Meeting is its quota for the support of the Quarterly Meeting which has no taxing power of its own; and in the Quarterly Meeting Budget is included its quota to be paid to the Yearly Meeting. Thus, except for income from invested funds, all financial requirements are met by the membership at large which is distributed, as we have seen, among the constituent Monthly Meetings. Friends prefer this private and inclusive method of financing their requirements rather than the customary resort to collections during the service. The fact that they often have no expenses for pastoral salaries and residences and for music keeps their expenses down.

There is one expense, however, which many Meetings have felt it necessary to take on, and that is the salary of a secretary. Such a person keeps lists of members, records births, deaths, and marriages, sends out notices, arranges committee meetings and carries on general correspondence. It is a highly important office, but it has nothing to do directly with the conduct of either the meetings for worship

or for the transaction of business. The oversight of members is cared for by the Overseers who also serve in some respects as an executive committee between sessions, and the actual conduct of business meetings is in the hands of the Clerk. There is no financial compensation for any of these officers, who are all appointed in open meeting.

Before leaving the subject of meetings we should comment upon two other kinds of Quaker gatherings besides those for worship and business: funerals and marriages. Many non-Quakers have had occasion to attend such a service and may have wondered in advance what their experience would be.

Meetings for Funerals

A funeral under any circumstances is bound to be, for those affected, a sad and solemn occasion. Those churches which have a set funeral service have an advantage when nothing favorable or helpful can be said about the deceased. The Friends have no fixed service. As in their other meetings much is left to the direction of the Spirit. The funeral may be held in the home or in the meeting-house. Relatives and friends gather at the appointed hour in silence. The body may or may not be on view. There is certain to be some exercise—prayer or exhortation—during the half or three-quarters of an hour the meeting lasts. Some friend of the family with experience in such sad affairs is usually asked to close the meeting

when he thinks it proper to do so and to make any desired announcement regarding the interment or an opportunity to view the remains. There is a reliable account of one Friend of large experience at country funerals who never failed to make a slip of the tongue on such occasions and to invite those present "to review the mains." There is usually a beautiful "grave-yard" adjacent to country and suburban meeting-houses, where members have the right to be buried among their kin. Quaker graves are uniformly marked with plain head-stones, bearing the name and date, and showing only a few inches above the surrounding sod. All mortuary display or ostentation Friends feel to be out of place in such surroundings.

Meetings for Marriages

Friends' marriages are more cheerful occasions, though the Discipline of the Society has always counseled against any extravagance or excessive expenditure in connection with them. Recognizing that the family is the foundation of society and of the church, Friends have always regarded marriage as a step of the gravest importance and significance, never to be entered into lightly, but rather as a union of man and woman in spiritual fellowship and in united service for Christ. Every effort should be made to avoid any false ideas concerning its nature and mutual obligations, and to insure that it is en-

tered into reverently and fearlessly. Marriage is recognized to be not an easy bond, but a high calling. "It can reach its highest purpose and realization only if Jesus Christ is the abiding and honored guest and His spirit the controlling influence in the home."

No Christians reverence more highly than the Quakers the sacrament of marriage. For them it is too serious an undertaking to be solemnized by the hands or words of any man, nor do they recognize any scriptural authority obliging them to accept the participation of another. God alone can bless such a union and give significance to such a mystery. In advance, however, the Meeting is in duty bound to exhaust every human effort to provide for the happiness and welfare of the contracting parties. Besides marriage councils, which exist in some places to give counsel and advice to young Friends contemplating marriage, certain preliminaries are provided for by the Discipline. The Monthly Meeting to which the woman belongs shall have jurisdiction over the marriage and it is to that Meeting that both parties must announce in writing their intention, submitting at the same time the written consent of all surviving parents. When this information is in hand, the Monthly Meeting appoints a committee of two Friends to learn from the woman in person if she is free from all other marriage engagements; the man is likewise required to submit such a "certificate of clearness" authorized by his Monthly Meeting. The use of the meeting-house may be

granted upon application for the marriage of a member with a non-member of the Society, or more rarely even where neither party is a member. The preliminary procedure varies slightly in such cases, but the greatest care is taken to insure the details of any responsibility which the Meeting may assume. When all has been reported satisfactorily to the Monthly Meeting, leave is given by it to proceed with the ceremony at a certain time and place sanctioned by the Meeting. Two men and two women Friends are appointed to attend the marriage and see that it is accomplished with simplicity and dignity, and in accordance with legal requirements and the practice of Friends.

Invitations having been extended in the conventional manner to the ceremony and to the wedding reception, we may now repair again to the meeting-house. Guests are shown in quiet to their seats by "groomsmen" or ushers and then sit in silent expectation. Promptly at the hour the bride and her bridesmaids arrive. The parents are already seated on a front bench. The bride then takes the bridegroom's arm and accompanied by the groomsmen and the bridesmaids walking arm in arm, the couple proceed to their seats between their parents.

After an impressive silence of a few minutes the real ceremony takes place. The bride and groom rise and, taking each other by the right hand, use these solemn words which bind them together as man and wife. The man says first: "In the presence of the

Lord and of this assembly I take thee, Sarah Evans Wilson, to be my wife, promising with divine assistance to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband until death shall separate us." The same words are then repeated by Sarah Evans Wilson, in which she makes the same engagement as wife to Thomas Henry Brown, after which they sit down as man and wife. Two ushers then bring upon a table the marriage certificate to be signed by the contracting parties, the woman now assuming the name of her husband. The certificate is then handed to some Friend, previously designated, in the facing seats, to be read aloud to the assembled company and later to be signed at the reception by as many witnesses of the marriage as may care to do so. The meeting then gathers into silence for upwards of half an hour, during which utterance may be given to any spiritual message appropriate to the occasion. The meeting is closed by an appointed Friend who rises and says that "this is perhaps a suitable time for the wedding company to withdraw." Whereupon, the wedding party leaves the house and later welcomes guests at the reception.

The solemnity of such a simple ceremony can hardly be overstated. Strangers always remark upon it. The whole subject is closed when the committee appointed to have oversight of the marriage reports at the next Monthly Meeting that the marriage was accomplished in accordance with the good order of Friends and that all the legal requirements in the

case have been complied with by the deposit of the necessary papers in evidence at the county courthouse. A full record of all marriages, births and deaths, with names and dates in full, is kept by the secretary or recorder of each Meeting. Going back over centuries these records are among the most valuable in existence for historians, biographers and genealogists.

The care for scrupulous preciseness in the drawing of written documents which is characteristic of Friends is seen in the ancient phraseology of their marriage certificates. The following is an exact copy from the Burlington Monthly Meeting Book of Records 1678-1765 and refers to the earliest Quaker marriage recorded in Burlington:

“Burlington ye 6th of ye 8th month 1678

“Thomas Leeds of Neversinks Couper in East Garsey & Margerit Collier of Markers hooke upon ye River Dellaware having Declared their Intentions to Joyne in Marriage at two severall Monthly Meetings of ffriends, & all things being Cleare thay have ye Day & yeare above written Joyned in Marriage at A Publicke Meeting of People of God at Burlington in West Jarzey upon ye River Delaware wheare ye said Thomas Leeds tooke the sd Margerit Collier to be his wife, & ye said Margerit Collier tooke ye sd Tho. Leeds too be her husband & wee are witnesses of the same whose names are under written.” (There follow the names of thirteen witnesses.)

The writer has one from 1807 certifying to the marriage in that year of his great-grandfather. The form is identical with that still in use. It reads as follows:

“Whereas Jeremiah Comfort of Middletown Township in the County of Bucks and State of Pennsylvania, son of Stephen Comfort of the Township, County and State aforesaid, and Sarah his wife, and Sarah Cooper, daughter of Thomas Cooper of Falls Township, County and State aforesaid (deceased) and Jane his wife, having declared their intentions of marriage with each other before a Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends held at the Falls aforesaid according to the good order used amongst them, and having consent of Parents, their said proposal of marriage was allowed of by the said Meeting. Now these are to certify whom it may concern that for the full accomplishment of their said intentions this fourteenth day of the Tenth Month in the Year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seven, they the said Jeremiah Comfort and Sarah Cooper appeared in a publick(sic) meeting of the said people held at the Falls aforesaid, and the said Jeremiah Comfort taking the said Sarah Cooper by the hand, did on this solemn occasion openly declare that he took her the said Sarah Cooper to be his Wife, promising with Divine assistance to be unto her a loving and faithful Husband until Death should seporate (sic) them; and then in the same assembly

the said Sarah Cooper did in like manner declare that she took him the said Jeremiah Comfort to be her Husband promising with Divine assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful wife until Death should seperate (sic) them. And moreover they the said Jeremiah Comfort and Sarah Cooper, she according to the custom of marriage assuming the name of her Husband, did as a further confirmation thereof then and there to these presents set their hands.

“And we whose names are also hereunto subscribed being present at the solemnization of the said marriage and subscription have as witnesses thereof set our hands the day and year above written.” There follow about seventy-five signatures of relatives and friends of the young people. It will be seen what a precious record these old Quaker certificates constitute for genealogical purposes. The legally minded reader will agree that there is not much left in doubt by this documentary evidence, and that the contracting parties must have felt themselves very thoroughly married when they left the meeting-house. Divorce between two Friends is rare.

CHAPTER III

SOME FRUITS OF SILENCE

WE MAY now consider some of the immediate and some of the more remote derivatives of silence. The Quakers did not invent silence, nor have they any monopoly of its use. Every Roman Catholic is familiar with its devotional use, as are some members of the Protestant Churches. But many a Protestant feels somewhat empty and lonely, if his minister asks for a few moments of silence and leaves the congregation to its own resources. It is doubtless easier to proceed from silence to speech than from music and preaching to silence. Thus the Quaker finds it easier to join in the established service of other communions than a non-Quaker to join in a silent meeting. Yet, even so, there are many church worshippers who long for a quiet period in which the spirit of man may seek for its own companionship on a higher level. Robert Barclay the Apologist wrote: "When I came into the silent assemblies of God's people, I felt a secret power among them, which touched my heart, and as I gave way unto it, I found the evil weakening in me, and the good raised up."

Somewhat unexpectedly we have been brought in this connection to think of the place of silence in the

world today. It has not got much place unless we take time to secure it. The noises of a city with its cars, horns, blaring campaign megaphones and street cries are not the only disturbers of our peace. In the quiet of the home, when we would fain be delivered from the stock-market, the movies and the strident struggle for life, our peace is invaded by the telephone or by a radio barrage. Before we have turned to the day's work the newspaper has come with its daily repertoire of tragedy and crime to put us in a poor frame of mind for our own duties. There is no chance to think upon whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report. It is, indeed, difficult for one to have any thoughts of his own as the thoughts of others are suggested to us by the most effective system of irruption the world has ever known. Consequently, most of us repeat what we have seen or heard from other sources. Our conversation consists largely of asking our neighbors "Did you know this?" or "Have you heard that?" The capacity for concentrated, silent thought is in many of us nearly atrophied.

Yet the thrill that comes when we push our thought out into new territory and consolidate our gains as the reward of personal conquest is one of the greatest satisfactions we can experience. If this is true on the intellectual level, it is far more so on the spiritual level. This experience can only be had in silence. How can we get it? The Quaker meeting guarantees some silence to those who attend it. But

once a week is not enough. Those who have the sur-est foundation, those whose lives are most serene, know that the frequent withdrawal from all sights and sounds alone satisfies a soul thirsting for the assurance of some place on a higher plane. "What am I here for?" and "What is my duty in this chaotic welter which surrounds us?" are questions which many are asking of the empty echo. They are questions of the distraught, the over-strung, the disillusioned, the unsatisfied—those who feel that they have missed the train and nobody cares. There have been Quakers who have felt the same way. Though he expressed his condition differently, George Fox was like that. After vain search for the word of life, he heard a voice that said: "There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition"; and he says: "When I heard it, my heart did leap for joy." Another such was Stephen Grellet. He too was a young man when, upon attending his first Quaker meeting, he testifies that "seeking for the divine presence, I was favored to find *in* me what I had so long and with so many tears, sought for *without* me."

Daily Retirement

The peace and self-control which come to us in even a short period of daily silence is something worth a great effort. If concentration at first is difficult, there are helps available: the Bible, many collections of daily Scripture readings, a volume of short

sermons or chapel talks, the words of a familiar hymn or of the prayer-book may serve to gather our thoughts into a spirit of worship. If provided for early in the day, it will be found that we shall go to work and to the trying interviews at the office in a calmer frame, with a better perspective of what is important and what is trivial. The strain caused by the desire to "put over" some business is tempered by the thought that when we have done our best in a good cause with God's help, the result may be safely left in other hands. The blood pressure under the collar is not so great, there is not so much need felt for cigarettes, black coffee and cocktails: one is calm and self-possessed. Very busy people are precisely those who need a daily period of silence and will most certainly profit by it. This surrender of self to a higher will, this prayer to have a little part in making the world better, this reference of self to a larger plan is familiar to Quakers as it is to great numbers in other communions. The reason we have spoken of it in this place is that such a devotional silence has been so long an integral part of the Quakers' inner life that any account of their Society without it would be incomplete.

Before considering the outside humanitarian interests of the Quakers to which a large part of this book will be devoted, we must indicate some important derivatives of that silence to which they are accustomed in their corporate and private concerns. The first of these is Deliberation.

Deliberation

This is the process of weighing the pros and the cons before arriving at a decision. It implies waiting before one leaps. In practice it means "going slow." We have seen what it means in the Quaker method of conducting business as well as spiritual exercise. "Friends, be not hasty," said George Fox; "for he that believes in the light, makes not haste." Be sure you are right under divine guidance, before you speak or act. It is the failure to obtain this assurance that explains the exaggerated self-assertion, the idle chatter, the hasty judgments with which we are so familiar in secular and even in religious discussions. One little Quaker boy with a fine inherited sense for the appropriate and pertinent, made the bull's-eye comment to his father after meeting: "Too much talk." How often we make the same remark after committee and board meetings! Mary Dudley (1750-1823), who was a great travelling minister and the mother of seven children, hit upon a good phrase in speaking of her contemporary, Samuel Emlen, when she said that he spoke with "holy pertinence." Occasional silence makes for deliberation; it heads off futile patter and checks the domineering personality. One feels that not only are men speaking, but that God is directing, and that is a very comforting sensation. This is a precious asset in maintaining discussion on a high plane. It gives a tone of dignity and respect to all those who take

part. Friends recognize that a man is not heard for his "much speaking," but for the evident authority with which he speaks, and they often use the phrase "the authority of truth." If it is true that water will not rise above its source, one must choose a lofty source for one's inspiration, a high standard of deliberation. Only then can we avoid what the early Friends called "frothy," "light," or "windy" utterance, and speak with the "authority of truth."

Deliberation implies patience—patience to bear and "suffer" the expression of others' judgments and, when convinced, to join in them. It must be accompanied by the belief in the possibility of arriving at an over-judgment, something greater and more inclusive than the mere opinion of any one individual, something upon which all can unite and then go forward in the strength given by unity. This unifying process requires time, but the Quakers are never in a hurry. Rightness is more to them than speed. They know of old that their conquests over public opinion have been slow and punctuated by set-backs. But they also know that if they are right, they will prevail. They remember that the Old Testament has something to say about God's time moving more slowly than man's time, and that his mill grinds slow, but sure. Where this patience in deliberation is linked with the larger Quaker philosophy is where it holds to the sacredness of the individual. Just as the individual must not be killed in war or on the scaffold, so in discussion he must not be crushed and

trampled upon by mere weight of numbers. He must be persuaded and won over. If this proves impossible, he must at least express his willingness that the others should go on without him. Any bitter division is a sign of weakness and shows a failure to defer to a higher wisdom. This practice of arriving at decisions with patient deliberation and with "tenderness" for the individual opponent will strike some as impracticable; but it works and might be tried to advantage in many secular matters.

The attempt to control the body by the spirit has another derivative of great consequence in Quaker economy, Moderation.

Moderation

Not only is this a Pauline injunction, but it has also affected the habits and manners of Friends from the earliest times. We think of moderation today in connection with the use of intoxicants. We speak of "observing moderation" or of being a "moderate drinker." In this limited sense we must observe that neither George Fox nor his contemporaries were total abstainers. In those days beer and ale were in general use as beverages. But when Fox was nineteen years old he put on record his feeling about ale-house drinking and the intemperate drinking of healths. From the outset, Friends have avoided intemperance, and since the establishment of temperance societies they have taken part in them and have

recommended to their fellow-members the avoidance of all intoxicating liquors. Many Quakers today are not total abstainers, but excess is rare, and the official *Advises* are a constant encouragement to individual faithfulness in this respect.

Intoxicating liquors are not the only form of indulgence in which moderation, if not total abstinence, increases our efficiency. Many Friends have succeeded in maintaining a standard of plain living and high thinking. It is certain that our hearts will be where our treasure is. Unless we are to be swamped by *things* and by the care of this world's goods, moderation must be constantly sought. The extent to which many otherwise sensible people allow themselves to be enslaved by totally unnecessary and useless possessions should give us pause. That person is happy who can travel light, who is unhampered by the baggage of this world, and who is available at any time for any mission to which he may be called. It is not too much to say that throughout their history Friends have exercised such moderation in their lives and households that they have been free to go where duty called.

Moderation in Speech

Moderation has, however, many other applications. Sobriety of language is one of these which from the very beginning has been sought for by the Friends. It accounts for two of their earliest testi-

monies in the seventeenth century: the use of the "plain" language to all men, together with the related refusal to render "hat" honor, and more important today, the refusal to take an oath in support of the truth of an assertion. To the early Friends all men were equal and brothers in the sight of God. Why should they distinguish among them, by using to some the then fashionable "you," by uncovering the head and bowing low before those who were clad in brief authority? So they used the biblical "thou" to all individuals and remained covered before all sorts and conditions of men. To understand today the significance of this protest against social inequality and insincerity, one must read the Quaker journals of the early days. The protest has less importance for us today than their testimony against oaths, but both have to do with moderation of language and attitude as opposed to social insincerity and hypocrisy.

Of course, there is excellent authority for the avoidance of oath-taking: "Swear not at all, neither by Heaven, for it is God's throne, nor by the earth, for it is His footstool." Also "Let your yea be yea and your nay nay; for whatsoever is more than this cometh of evil." For a worldly generation, however, William Penn composed in 1675 his *Treatise on Oaths*. "The remarkable thing about the book," says J. W. Graham, "is that, after arguing the case at full length and in great detail, Penn proceeds to support it by quotations from a hundred and twenty-two

authors both well known and little known, beginning with his beloved Greek philosophers, Pythagoras and Plato, and going on to the Greek and Roman Stoics, and so to the Christian Fathers both early and late, and down through the medieval times to Wycliffe and many mystical sects, and on to Erasmus and the Reformation and to the Prince of Orange in the previous year 1674. This work was done so thoroughly that it will never have to be done again, and for sheer learning it is a wonderful performance." The little book is in fact a classic, and the reader cannot peruse the weight of testimony here produced against the use of oaths without admitting their futility.

To this testimony against oaths the Quakers have throughout clung with great tenacity. They have good reason on their side. The oath taken to strengthen or solemnize an assertion implies a double standard of truth: one for common use when there is no responsibility felt for veracity, and another when one is under pressure or challenge. Whenever a magistrate wished to imprison a Quaker, he simply tendered him the Oath of Allegiance, which the Quaker promptly and inevitably refused, saying that his allegiance to his king and country was well expressed by his affirmation without calling upon Heaven to witness it; and that the offer of an oath by the court was intended to catch him on a point of conscience. This, of course, was the truth, as the imprisonment of thousands of Friends in the seven-

teenth century amply proves. The reader will be interested in the secular and pagan support of this Quaker testimony, as well as in the biblical authority for it. For quite recently the proposal in the United States to require from teachers an Oath of Allegiance has aroused controversy. To many the most satisfactory argument against oath-taking is the iniquity of a double standard. Friends maintain that they mean what they say when they *affirm*, and that to *swear* to the truth can add nothing to the solemnity of their engagement. If a man affirms that with God's help he will tell the truth, or defend the United States government, or carry out the duties of a public office to the best of his ability, there is really nothing more to say. It is interesting to note that on the United States registration cards issued in 1940, all that is required of the registrant is his signature to the statement, "I affirm that I have verified above answers and that they are true." He is on record and is prepared to take the consequences of any proven perjury. A man who always tells the truth need not raise his voice to strengthen it, nor call down the wrath of Heaven upon himself if he fails in that primary ethical obligation; a man who does not tell the truth under all circumstances will not be more trustworthy under oath. We are reliably informed that when an ingenuous American Friend was asked in 1725 by an official, "Can you swear?" he replied, "Not that I know of, I never tried." In more recent times the ancestor of many Friends still living was

asked by a judge: "Mr. B., do you swear or affirm?"—"I neither swear, nor affirm. I speak the truth."—"That is quite satisfactory, Mr. B. You may proceed." For the Friends there is no double standard when dealing with truth, nor is it safe to go beyond saying "to the best of my knowledge" when making a statement of fact.

John Woolman was once visited by two young men who made a bet that they could catch him in a lie. So while one of them was calling on Woolman in the house, the other came to the door and asked if his friend was inside. Expecting that the Quaker would say that he was within, according to plan, the caller jumped out the window, and the trap was set to catch Woolman. The latter, however, was guarded in his reply, and cautiously replied, "I left him there." Many people would have been ready to swear that the friend was inside. A trivial incident perhaps, but the principle involved is not trivial. And many citizens today, when tendered the choice of an affirmation or an oath, choose the former as more consistent with their ethical standards of truth. In doing so, they may well remember that it is only the pertinacity and faithfulness of the Quakers under persecution which has made this choice possible for all in the United States and the British Empire.

We may further think of moderation as an application of the "go slow" sign to action and manners as well as to speech. It is an extension of silence to

social habits. The Quaker instinctively shrinks from any violent action or word which will inevitably thrust him forward in the public eye. He prefers to be in the background. In a good cause he would rather be at the bottom of the heap than waving a flag on top. Anything which throws any doubt upon the disinterestedness or integrity of his motive, he shuns. This preference has undoubtedly tended to keep the Quakers out of public life, and has inclined them to exercise their influence from the comparative obscurity of private life. Any public office which would require a noisy and obtrusive campaign, a display of violent and vituperative language, a list of promises and engagements which cannot be kept, is plainly outside their competence. This objection does not hold for many offices of trust and administration for which their fellow-citizens may draft them and in which they themselves feel that they can preserve the delicate points of ethical conduct on which they are sensitive.

Given to sobriety of language, the Quakers are distinguished in their utterances and their engagements by understatement. As one of their college presidents used to say: "I would rather disappoint thee now by failing to gratify thee than disappoint thee later by my failure to do all that I had promised." Friends prefer to do better than they say. Consequently, in business, they avoid glittering inducements and noisy assertions of superior claims over their competitors, and prefer to stay well within

the truth of their accomplishment. One could hardly imagine a Quaker firm sponsoring the blatant claims made hourly over the radio. The modest but patent honesty of the following little business card issued over a century ago in New York by the Quaker firm of Pearsall and Grellet compares favorably with the more ambitious displays in the daily press:

“New York, 3rd Mo. 4, 1815

“RESPECTED FRIENDS:

“We, the undersigned, having entered into Co-partnership, under the firm of Pearsall and Grellet, take the liberty of respectively to offer you our services in the Commission Business, to which we intend chiefly to confine ourselves. We trust that our attention to the business that our Friends may commit to us, will give them full satisfaction, and merit a continuation of their confidence.

“We are your Friends

ROBERT PEARSALL

STEPHEN GRELLET.”

Moderation in Dress

Moderation also affects the Quaker dress and personal attire. The object sought has always been conservative restraint in the following of contemporary styles. Materials were often of the best and most durable, but undue attention to the demands of styles devised by the “world’s people” betrayed an

unworthy solicitude for human judgments. The desire was to escape notice through plainness of dress. When it became evident fifty years ago in America that certain features of the Quaker sombre costume had come to constitute a peculiarity and served rather to attract attention than to avoid it, Friends ceased to wear distinguishing dress. They now dress like other people, but they tend to avoid showy colors and clothes of ultra-fashionable cut. In this connection moderation means the avoidance of excessive attention to a matter which they feel should claim only secondary consideration. The aspect of a Quaker meeting, as compared with many a church congregation, would reveal a sobriety of dress.

Another kind of moderation is to be noted in the paucity of artistic genius to be found in Quaker history. There is a historic reason for this fact. For over two centuries Friends were loath to distract their minds from contemplation of heavenly truth. This inhibition from revelling in the beauty of the earth in the presence of more solemn thoughts is constantly met in the record of Quaker travels. A typical instance of the restraint of natural feeling is found in the Memorials of Rebecca Jones (1739-1815), a charming and vivacious Friend from Philadelphia who was originally an Episcopalian. She writes in 1784 of a scene which has held the gaze of many another traveller: "As we were advancing up the British Channel, and although delighted with the fine prospect of the land, of White Rocks, Isle of

Wight, etc. (G. D. and self being on deck and counting the shipping around us, 30 in all, which was a feast to the eye) yet my mind was low, stripped and fearful, lest I should not keep near enough to that Power which alone has preserved and can preserve, under and through all the dispensations of his Providence, to his own praise. May I be favoured not only to get deep enough, but to *keep* deep and humble with the pure seed, in mine own bosom and the bosom of the faithful amongst whom my lot may be cast."

The Quakers have been among the last of the non-Catholic bodies to succumb to the Renaissance cult of physical beauty. The triumph of this Renaissance taste for all that is fair and beautiful in this world is now well-nigh complete. The Quakers have been slow to renounce the medieval insistence upon the awfulness of the life to come. All the writings of the older Friends show a people seeking to keep clear of this world and its seductions. Their kingdom was not of this world. There was no place for the arts or for the cultivation of beauty in their philosophy. The list of Quaker artists, musicians, poets, actors and playwrights is impressively brief. Their talents were deliberately turned by education and social pressure away from any such career. Life in this world for the Friends of the older time was a preparation for an eternal life beginning now, and that was too serious a matter to be jeopardized by attention to the more frivolous satisfaction of the eyes and

ears. Hugh Judge¹ speaks in typical Quietist style of one James Hawkins at Cane Creek Meeting in North Carolina, who "had three hopeful sons living with him; the eldest of which is, I think, as solid a young man as I have lately met with. He has been with us several days, and I have seldom seen a smile on his countenance." That sounds like a pretty grim standard of goodness. But, anything which may appear in this book to the contrary notwithstanding, the Friends today are as cheerful people as one could wish to meet. There is no reason why they should not be. They have a quiet and unobtrusive humor which finds satisfaction in many a little pleasantry, even if at their own expense.

A typical "minute" adopted by London Yearly Meeting in 1764 states an attitude toward reading which was held by Friends for upwards of two hundred and fifty years:

"This meeting being sorrowfully affected under a consideration of the hurtful tendency of reading plays, romances, novels, and other pernicious books, it is earnestly recommended to every member of our Society to discourage and suppress the same." It is said that many years ago one Meeting in Western Pennsylvania replied briefly to a query on this point: "There are no books amongst us." However, for the past century Whittier came into all Friends' libraries on his Quakerism, and William Cowper was safe! The loose morals which marked the lives of certain

¹ *Memoirs and Journal*, Byberry, 1841, p. 40.

artists filled the older Friends with the desire to be separated from such persons as far as the east is from the west, and to have no traffic with them. For better or worse, these inhibitions have lost their force with many Friends: music, art, literature and the theatre claim their devotees and patrons now among Friends as among other Christians who in earlier days were on their guard against them. The question for the individual to decide is whether he can reconcile his attention to these absorbing interests with the priority he still attributes to the things of the Spirit. Here is a moral yard-stick which Friends are accustomed to use, and which must be used by every individual who would seriously consider his duty.

By their avoidance of excess, by their tendency to moderation in all things, the Quakers individually have attracted little attention. The Society does not produce the sort of personality that seeks or obtains notoriety. Quakers would gladly forego the fame of a Byron or a Goethe rather than be responsible for such a genius in the family! The result has been rather a high average of moral and civil decency in the Society without the personal distinction which often attends the possession of artistic genius.

Many peculiar communities have been treated in fiction. But the perfect Quaker novel has never been written, and perhaps never will be written. The preceding pages may have indicated the reasons for this. Briefly they are that no one who is not a Quaker has

SOME FRUITS OF SILENCE

the necessary "feel" for the subject to be competent to treat it; those who are Quakers, on the other hand, do not possess the artistic skill to portray Quakerism as it really is. The available authors are divided between those who don't know, and those who can't do.

The Quakers lend themselves to caricature or ridicule or soft humanitarianism as they appear in stage plays, chiefly of the eighteenth century in England. In the more extended treatment of fiction, they have been portrayed many times, but never with the fidelity required by the discriminating reader. Some Friends have collected Quaker novels, but they confess that up to date none of them is satisfactory regards both fidelity and artistic creation. Now that certain picturesque features of Quakerism have disappeared, the task will become increasingly difficult. It will soon be as hard to portray contemporary Quakers in a novel with the qualities required in a best seller as it would be to write a novel depicting Presbyterians or Christian Scientists. There is not enough for the artist to take hold of. We have seen that the whole workaday philosophy of Friends is to avoid crises, emotional instability, passionate outbursts and ill-considered action. They strive to avoid all excesses. For a great part of their history they deliberately avoided all color in their lives as in their clothes. Many grandparents of Friends now living wore no jewelry, nor even a wedding ring. An English Friend visiting Philadelphia early in the nin-

teenth century was surprised to see what he took at first to be gold rings on some of the "plain" Friends whom he met. He learned promptly, however, that they were brass rings worn only as a cure for rheumatism! The good life for Friends was the life of calm, of peace, of long suffering, of good will—the life, as some would say, where nothing ever happened. Since Quakerism is now to be studied in the inward spirit rather than in the outward badge, it is more difficult than ever to picture it. Now that it is no longer featured by quaint costume, picturesque habits and plain language, but simply by an attitude with certain characteristic reactions toward life and duty, the difficulty has become almost insuperable.

In the self-revealing journals and travels and in the field of biography, however, Quaker literature is very rich. It is there that the world must seek for a true portrayal of Quakerism from the beginning to almost the present time. No religious sect of its size has a literature comparable in amount to that of the Society of Friends. From the earliest times Friends have felt obliged to leave, for the encouragement of others, an account of the Lord's dealings with them as they sought to do his will up and down in the earth. There is an unbroken series of first-hand evidence from 1650 to 1850, and since that time we have seen many excellent biographies of ancient and contemporary worthies written by modern Friends. It is in this revealing field of the journal and the

authentic biography that one must read widely, if one would treat, like William James, of Quakerism as one of the notable varieties of religious experience.

In view of the great number of Quaker journals and biographies, it is strange that the world has remained in such ignorance of the fundamental principles of Friends. The fact is, of course, that the world has gone its way without heeding these self-revelations of a unique spiritual and psychological experience. The world is not interested in a "peculiar people" who do nothing sensational, and the style of their books was often so lacking in artistic taste and charm as to attract no readers outside of the Society itself. In recent years, however, several competent Friends in England and America have written of Quaker personages with authority and with literary charm. It is in part due to these writers that the world has become aware of the contribution which Quakerism has made and is still able to make to religious life.

It has been correctly stated that "freedom from the distractions of the world at large and a desire to employ seriously every moment of their leisure time led many Quakers into paths of education, science and philanthropy."² This was particularly true of the great period of Quaker activity during the first half of the nineteenth century, when such names as Joseph John Gurney, his sister Elizabeth Fry, William Allen, Joseph Lancaster, Lindley Murray, John

² *Lord Lister* by Cuthbert Dukes, London and Boston, 1924, p. 29.

Bartram, Peter Collinson, Thomas Say, Dr. John Fothergill, Dr. John C. Lettsom, Pliny Earle, and later Lord Lister, Silvanus P. Thompson, four generations of Tukes and Sir Arthur S. Eddington remind us of Friends' contributions on both sides of the Atlantic along other than artistic lines.

To show how essential truths of Quakerism, as exemplified in their meetings for worship and business, flow over into daily life, we can do no better than print here the *Advices* currently addressed annually to the members of one of the most influential American Yearly Meetings. These *Advices*, though new in their modern form, are based quite directly upon the advice which George Fox was wont to address to Friends at frequent intervals regarding their spiritual and civil duties. They serve today as a preparation for answering the *Queries*. Each Yearly Meeting has its own Discipline. The *Queries* are so much alike in the different Disciplines that we may choose them from several sources. They are specific inquiries addressed to Monthly Meetings, the answers to which may be sent up annually and summarized by the superior Meetings. The answers thus constitute a picture of the state of the Society. As they stand today the *Queries* are the descendants of many earlier ones which show the concern of the Society from early times for two things: the purity of the spiritual source, and the faithfulness with which the leadings of the Spirit are carried over into business life here and now.

Advices

Our Book of Faith and Practice recommends that periodically in our meetings we should read the following Advices. These should have a quickening influence in shaping our daily lives, and the reading of them should remind us that in the Christian life material, moral and spiritual interests are all regarded as under religious control.

Friends are advised carefully to inspect the state of their finances at least once a year, and to make provision for the settlement of their outward affairs while in health.

Meetings are enjoined to care for timely renewal of trusts: also, to see that all public gifts and legacies are strictly applied to uses intended by the donors. When this becomes difficult or impracticable early application should be made to the Representative Meeting for advice and assistance.

We discourage membership in secret societies since we believe that these are incapable of producing any good which might not be effected by open means, and that the pledge to secrecy is in itself a surrender of independence which tends to moral decadence and spiritual loss. Every individual should be free to follow the truth in thought and action without any restriction through a pledge to secrecy.

We urge our members to avoid all use of intoxicating liquors and actively to uphold the cause of total

abstinence. We urge also the avoidance of tobacco and narcotic drugs.

Friends should instruct their children in the way of life which we, as a Religious Society, have professed, and teach them the principles which have guided us. They should strive to lead them to Jesus Christ, "the Way, the Truth and the Life." To follow Him loyally, fearlessly and gladly is to find "that life which is life indeed."

May we keep close and understanding sympathy with our children. May we meet the responsibilities of parenthood intelligently and reverently and ask for the wisdom of the Holy Spirit to guide us. May we help our children to wise choice of reading, recreation, friendship and social relationships, that all their interests may make for Christian character and spiritual growth.

Friends are advised to watch carefully over the education of their children and to place them in schools which will not only build them up physically, but will foster their moral and spiritual life.

We believe that marriage is an ordinance of God, and that He alone can rightly join man and woman therein. When any contemplate marriage, may they seek Divine guidance, without which it will lack the highest consummation. Marriage is an experience of spiritual, intellectual and physical adjustment. It is a happy and helpful experience if mutual love, unselfishness and service inspire it. Parents should see that their children receive wise counsel concern-

ing the new life opening before them, and should help them to understand that far more important than wealth or worldly advantage are character, mutual respect, and unity in religious attitudes and ideals.

In the growing complexity of life, let us strive to keep true to our ideals of sincerity and simplicity, to keep before us the essential truths and test our lives by them, and to keep our family from the distractions of useless activities. Let us seek for that inward faith which shall be as a rock foundation and for that peace which shall hold firm in outward confusion.

As followers of Christ let us remember that we are called to help in establishing the Kingdom of God on earth. May our sense of brotherhood with all men be strong, leading us as workers, as employers and in all other relations to make the chief aim of our lives service rather than gain. May it inspire us to earnest efforts after a social order in which no one is hindered in his development by meagre income, insufficient education and too little freedom in directing his own life. May it lead us not only to minister to those in need, but to seek to understand the causes of social and industrial ills, and to do our part as individuals and as a Society for their removal.

Let us be earnest about the spread of Christ's message of love among those who have not heard it, and support the work of missions both at home and abroad, that the command to preach the gospel

among the nations may be fulfilled. Let us guard ourselves against religious intolerance and cherish in our hearts a spirit of love for all men.

Friends' belief in that of God in every man should lead us to reverence personality in every human being regardless of race. Let us encourage all efforts to overcome racial prejudices and antagonisms, and economic, social and educational discrimination.

War is contrary to the life and teaching of Jesus. Every human being is a child of the Heavenly Father, and has a Divine spark that claims our reverence. War ignores this. It denies the sovereign value of human personality, and it abrogates fundamental Christian virtues. Therefore the elimination of war is essential to Christian international relations.

Thus our peace testimony is not negative, it is the positive exercise of good will in human relationships. May we lend our influence to all that strengthens the growth of international friendship and understanding, and may we give our active support to movements that substitute co-operation and justice for force.

May parents and teachers cultivate this active spirit of love and peace, and let us all "live in the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars."

The First-day of the week should be a time for worship and religious service, for fostering family life, for rest and leisure; when we may turn our minds from the more material round of daily life to

intellectual and spiritual refreshment. Its observance has been precious to Friends and we desire to hold fast that which is good in this respect.

May we be diligent in attendance at our meetings for worship and strive to come to them with a sense of our individual responsibility so that we may not mar or hinder, but rather contribute to that purity and freedom of the spirit in which, as united worshippers, we find communion with Him who is the Head of the Church.

In our business meetings also, and in all the duties connected with them, may our members make use of their gifts. As it is the Lord's work, let it be done as in His sight, in the peaceable spirit and wisdom of Jesus, with dignity, forbearance and love to each other.

Dear Friends, keep all your meetings in the authority, wisdom and power of truth and the unity of the blessed spirit. Finally, dear Friends, let your conduct and conversation be such as become the Gospel of Christ. Exercise yourselves to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and toward men. Be steadfast and faithful in your allegiance and service to your Lord, and the God of peace be with you.

Queries

Query I. Are all meetings for worship and discipline duly held, and are you regular and punctual in attending them?

Query II. Do you uphold and cherish a waiting spiritual worship and a free gospel ministry exercised in the fresh life and power of the Holy Spirit? And are you concerned to foster the use and growth of the spiritual gift of your members?

Query III. Are love and unity fostered among you? Are you exerting your influence that tale-bearing and detraction shall be avoided, and that individual disagreements among you may be prevented? When differences arise, do you endeavor to settle them speedily and in a spirit of meekness and love? Are members whose conduct or manner of living give reasonable ground for concern seasonably advised with for their preservation and recovery?

Query IV. Do you, who have children or others under your care, endeavor to train them for upright and useful lives; and do you prayerfully seek the guidance and blessing of the Lord on your efforts for their conversion and growth in grace? Do you encourage them to read and study the Holy Scriptures?

Query V. Do you endeavor to express in your daily lives the love and brotherhood, the sincerity and simplicity, which Jesus Christ lived and taught? Do you keep to moderation in your standards of living and pursuit of business, avoiding worldliness, self-indulgence and display? Are you frequent in the reverent reading of the Holy Scriptures? Do you choose those recreations which will strengthen your physical, mental and spiritual life, and avoid those that may prove a hindrance to yourselves and others;

and do you so live that spiritual growth, family life, the interests of the church and public welfare may have their due share of your time and thought?

Query VI. Do you abstain from the manufacture, sale, or use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage? Are you careful to avoid all places and amusements inconsistent with a Christian character; and do you observe true moderation in all things?

Query VII. Do you maintain the Christian principle of peace and consistently refrain from bearing arms and from performing military service as incompatible with the precepts and spirit of the Gospel; from taking or administering oaths; and from defrauding the public revenue?

Query VIII. Do you individually maintain a spirit of good-will toward all races and nations and do you labor for a just and generous policy toward them?

Query IX. Do you frequently inspect your affairs and settle your accounts? Are you just in your dealings, punctual to your promises and prompt in the payment of your debts; careful to live within your income; and to avoid involving yourselves in business beyond your ability to manage?

Query X. Do you fulfill the obligations of citizenship? What is your Meeting doing to develop a community spirit, to promote civic righteousness, to discourage gambling, to further prison reform, to foster proper care of dependent and delinquent children, and to co-operate in providing wholesome public recreation?

CHAPTER IV

QUAKERS IN A LARGER SPHERE

DURING a great part of its history the Society of Friends has been regarded as a close corporation by the world. It must be admitted that the Society has done little to refute the truth of this conception, and that it has done much to warrant it. Its dress, language, social customs, and manners of life; its adoption in 1737 of birthright membership; its wholesale disownment of members who married "out of meeting" or who took up arms; its somewhat different standard from that of the world on ethical questions—all these things served to set the Quakers apart, and they made no objection to the treatment. Thousands of "seekers" had been convinced in the seventeenth century by the sheer appeal of their preaching. But after the Society had been watered by the blood of its martyrs, it lay fallow for a long period. It cherished its convictions and was satisfied to be treated as a "peculiar people." It withdrew into its shell and was content to be quiescent for upwards of a century. This is something that has often happened to religious bodies: the experimental and affirmative period of their life is succeeded by a comatose state in which satisfaction is found in

the mere reading of the minutes of the last meeting, a rehash of the experiences of someone else. Indeed, some critics hostile to organized religion maintain that this always happens, and that all our churches today are victims of an inevitable process of dry rot. Be that as it may, there was one conviction of the early Friends that long survived, and which did much to set them off from their fellow-Christians. This was their conception of two forces in the world: good and evil. The devil was as real a threat as God was sure as a deliverer.

The business of the Quaker preacher was to "call people off" from the world and its temptations and prepare them for an eternal life. Their testimony seems now, as we look back to the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth century, to have been largely negative. There were so many things, innocent in the eyes of others, which they refused to countenance: music, dancing, card-playing, the theatre, horse-racing, stock-gambling, drinking, gaiety of dress were some of the tabus which many Friends still living recall in their youth, and under whose influence they still live. Surrounded by a society which condoned these things, Friends entertained the conviction that they were all inventions of the devil, calculated to ruin them. It was from these worldly indulgences, among other more serious spiritual errors, that George Fox sought to "call off" his contemporaries. Not many years ago a beloved old minister used to lump them all together in our

hearing as "the world and the things of the world." They "savor not the things that be of God." The result of this attitude, however defensible, was that Quakers grew up and lived with definite inhibitions, of which they were perfectly conscious. They became more and more separated from their less thin-skinned neighbors and gathered up their own skirts a little too complacently about themselves and their unquestioned virtues.

Thus, the Quakers, though no longer persecuted, nor even disliked, were left alone to their own devices. After 1756 they ceased to have a controlling voice in the government of Pennsylvania and for many years withdrew entirely from public office. The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting in 1758 thus registered its judgment: "As the maintaining inviolate the liberty of conscience, which is an essential to our union and well-being as a religious society, evidently appears to be an indispensable duty, this meeting doth . . . caution, exhort and advise Friends to beware of accepting or continuing in office or station in civil society or government, by which they may be in any respect engaged in, or think themselves subjected to, the necessity of enjoining or enforcing the compliance of their brethren or others with any act which they conscientiously scruple to perform."

The government of Pennsylvania had been their "holy experiment" in the application of their theory to practice. It worked well as long as a majority of their fellow-citizens were Quakers who shared the

convictions of William Penn. But by the middle of the eighteenth century so many Episcopalians and Presbyterians had been attracted to Pennsylvania by the blessings of Quaker rule that they outvoted the Friends on rendering armed assistance to the British in the French and Indian war. Their negative stand was pretty well understood by their contemporaries, but their motives were disregarded as much then as they are now. People did not know what the Friends believed, they only knew what they saw them do and not do. A characteristic story, of non-Quaker origin, has it that when some travellers came for the first time to Philadelphia after passing through the land of Mennonites, Dunkards and Amishmen, they saw the plainly but richly dressed Friends emerging after meeting from one of their numerous places of worship in the city. They remarked to their local guide that they had seen in their travels many curious sects, but none dressed like these. "Who are they?" "They are Quakers," said their companion. "Indeed, and what do they believe?" "They believe in six per cent irredeemable ground-rents," was the answer. The response betrays a keen sense of humor, but stops short at the alleged financial acumen of the Quakers, without penetrating to their more important testimonies.

Living in an air-tight compartment is not conducive to vigor. The Quakers have come out now and have learned that they have much to spare which they can give, and that they lack much which

they may acquire. At present they are better known than for a long time and exert a greater influence upon religious thought and practice.

Quakers as Citizens at Home

At a time when the world is agitated over political doctrines, and when democracy as a system is sustaining such bitter attacks in some countries and receiving such valiant defense in others, it is natural to ask what the attitude of Quakerism toward government has been. The Society of Friends has always been opposed to tyranny of any sort and in favor of democratic control of government. It has never had a chance to show what kind of government it could produce except in colonial Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. With suggestions from other sources William Penn produced a "frame of government" and later a constitution for his "woods" which was a model of its kind. Certain tolerant features of it have been preserved in the constitution of Pennsylvania and even in that of the United States. It was far in advance of its time and proved workable only so long as it was interpreted and followed by men who, like Penn, believed it possible to observe the same standards in public as in private life. For seventy-five years, with the substantial control of the colony, the Quakers made of Pennsylvania something like a paradise on earth, a land of promise and opportunity which the European philosophers re-

garded as a Utopia and to which the victims of European intolerance came by the thousands. The serpent in this paradise was war, and it was on the preparations for war between the British and French that the significant features of Penn's government broke down. William was no longer alive to hold it together, as he had so often done, and the Quakers were outvoted on the question which touched them to the quick. His best known writing on the subject today is the document written in 1693 entitled *An Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe by the Establishment of an European Diet Parliament or Estates*, in which is plainly forecast the plan and purpose of the modern League of Nations. It is perhaps the most vital of Penn's writings at the present moment and is readily procurable. As Penn anticipated Voltaire as an apostle of religious tolerance, so did he anticipate the eighteenth-century philosophers in their conception of an international working agreement between the war-torn countries of Europe. Only the project of Sully under Henri Quatre antedates that of Penn, and that was based upon grounds of political expediency rather than upon a high moral concern. Penn's broadest statement regarding government is to the effect that governments depend upon men rather than men on governments. If men are virtuous, governments cannot be bad. But if men are wicked, however excellent governments may be, men will strive to corrupt and ruin them.

With politics as distinct from government, the Quakers have never had much to do. Their kingdom was not of this world. What they were interested in was the virtue of individual citizens living under any form of government. Penn's social position, as son of Admiral Sir William Penn, made access to Court possible for him, and with Charles II and James II he was on friendly terms. It fell to his lot, as to George Whitehead, George Fox and other contemporaries to be constantly pleading with royalty and with Parliamentary commissions for freedom of worship and release of prisoners. But neither Penn nor any of the Quakers were political partisans. It made very little difference to them who had the power and the glory, if only justice and tolerance were allowed to prevail. When left to himself to devise a government, Penn of course made sure of these two requirements and placed sovereignty in the hands of the people. On this point the historian George Bancroft wrote: "Penn did not despair of humanity, and though all history and experience denied the sovereignty of the people, dared to cherish the noble idea of man's capacity for self-government. . . . His name is now wide as the world; he is one of the few who have gained abiding glory."

It is only in colonial Pennsylvania, and to a lesser degree in Rhode Island, West Jersey and North Carolina, that the Quakers have had a free opportunity to make themselves felt. In these colonies and States a number of Quakers have acted as governor and

have held other responsible positions. The admirable study of Amelia M. Gummere, on *The Quaker in the Forum* (Philadelphia, 1910), contains much of interest regarding the Quakers' modest part in American political life. But in most States they have been in the minority. They have never campaigned nor pushed in a body for any candidate. There has never been a Quaker party nor a candidate supported by all Quakers. They do not talk politics, but just go and vote in accordance with their preferences. The support of the Society as a *bloc* is therefore impossible, and would in any case be of negligible importance. But they are not slack in exercising their right of franchise. Mrs. Gummere sums up the present attitude of the Friends toward their civic duties by quoting a minute of Baltimore Yearly Meeting in 1903: "Those members who have the right of franchise are urged to be careful to exercise that privilege in a careful and conscientious spirit, ever mindful that the elective franchise is a sacred trust, and that it should be used as in the sight of the Lord, and for the advancement of righteousness" (p. 317).

The lawmakers and office holders, however, hear more often from the Quakers than from perhaps any other religious body. This is because the representative bodies of the Society watch legislation like hawks. As soon as there are bills introduced proposing greater license in the liquor trade, in gambling, Sunday observance, indecent exhibitions; at times when the foreign relations of the federal government

threaten injustice, intolerance or violence—then the Quakers are heard from. Two methods are employed in America: the Representative Meetings of the Yearly Meetings may send to a President, Governor, Secretary of State or members of the legislature or congress, a memorial calling attention to certain principles and praying that consideration be given to these principles before action; or a small deputation of Friends is appointed to wait upon the appropriate government officer and present to him in person the “concern” of the Society for which they speak. The interview involves no argument nor heated polemic. It is felt by both parties to be based upon a spiritual principle and is almost without exception a satisfactory occasion to all participants. The technique of such an interview, which has so often had favorable results, is very interesting. It consists always of a declaration of personal good will, of sympathy for the heavy duties of the office, of hope that care will be given to the fundamental principles involved, and of faith that prayerful consideration will lead to a right decision. It is difficult for an official to be other than friendly toward such a friendly mission. The appeal of these representations lies in their very gentleness and mildness. There is no resort to debatable arguments, there is no pressure, no attempt to compel. The official finds himself with a very nice little problem of ethics laid in his lap. If he is a free agent and has any conscience at all, he is more apt than not to let his best

nature act. That, of course, is exactly what the Friends want—to make the secular acts follow from the convictions of the heart. So for centuries with their concern for justice and tolerance they have been accustomed to visit the great ones of the earth, even kings, queens, princes, even the Pope Pius VII, even the Berlin Gestapo in 1938, with good will on both sides, and often with marked accomplishment. Quaker records leave no doubt as to the powerful working of the Spirit when two parties meet on the higher plane.

Quakers as Ministers Abroad

Reference has more than once been made to the Quaker travelling ministers known as “public Friends.” From the constant travels of George Fox in England and America to the time of the late American Friend, William C. Allen, who spent years of his life in remote parts of the earth, there has been a well-nigh continuous line of such travelling ministers. Especially prominent are the groups in the first generation of the Society between 1650 and 1700 and again during the period of evangelical fervor between 1775 and 1850. The travellers we have in mind were all ministers, concerned to turn the world from its evil ways and bring it to works meet for repentance. They were in no case proselyting, trying to extend the numbers of the Society; they were simply reminding all their hearers of the short-

ness of time, and of the necessity of accepting the Savior who gave His life as a ransom for many. So much on the evangelical side. But in another sense they were international ambassadors of good will, of that kind of love which knows no barriers of race, creed, color or previous condition of servitude. Their good will, when personally expressed to a sovereign, took the form of Christian greeting, followed by an assurance of sympathetic interest in the burdens of the individual, and closed with the hope that he would be ever mindful of the heavy responsibility resting upon him before the face of Almighty God. Religious tolerance, justice to the poor and unfortunate, international peace, consideration for subject peoples—these were the special objects of their pleas with the great ones of the earth as they were in their own Society.

It is probable that every President of the United States has at some time sat with a small committee of Friends and listened to their representations on some humanitarian subject connected with tolerance, justice or peace. No such interview is better known than that of President Lincoln with Eliza P. Gurney and some companions in 1862. He felt for the Friends in their conscientious objection to war, and they felt for him with his crushing responsibilities. They confided in each other. Lincoln told them: "In the very responsible position in which I happen to be placed, being a humble instrument in the hands of our Heavenly Father, as I am, and as we all are, to work

out His great purpose, I have desired that all my works and acts may be according to His will, and that it might be so, I have sought His aid; but if, after endeavoring to do my best in the light which He affords me, I find my efforts fail, I must believe that for some purpose unknown to me, He wills it otherwise." Two years later, he wrote to Eliza P. Gurney a letter in which he said: "I have not forgotten—probably never shall forget—the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor has your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten." This letter, indeed, was found in his pocket when he was assassinated. Even a great and busy man does not forget such an interview.

Besides English sovereigns from Cromwell to Victoria, one recalls private interviews of Quaker ministers with the Sultan Mohammed IV, with King Bernadotte, Peter the Great, the Czars Nicholas I, Alexander I and Nicholas II; Maximilian I of Bavaria, Ferdinand VII of Spain, the sovereigns of Wurtemberg, and Pope Pius VII. If we included other dignitaries of somewhat lower flight, the list would be much longer. The pains and danger accompanying early travel were great. On foot, on horseback, in post-chaises, in sleighs, and by sailing vessel, these inveterate travellers, until 1830, had no better facilities than did St. Paul. Many crossed the Atlantic again and again. Stephen Grellet covered nearly 100,000 miles, many others not much less. American

Friends died in England, Ireland, Germany; British Friends died in America and in the islands of the sea. No considerations of private comfort or convenience were allowed to interfere with their answer to the call of service when it came.

This subject of "travel in the love of the Gospel" as it was called, affords an interesting example of the submission of the individual to the collective judgment of his Meeting. It is quite conceivable, for example, that a minister might be mistaken in the authority of his call to service in foreign lands. After long and prayerful consideration, in which he sought to assure himself of divine guidance, he feels definitely called to service away from home. He must then submit his "concern" to his Monthly Meeting, and if it is for service abroad, also to the approval of his Quarterly Meeting and to the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders. This very ancient procedure is still observed and is designed to guard against any possibility of mistaken duty on the part of the individual concerned. The sense of duty properly resides in the individual, but is controlled and stamped with approval by responsible Quaker groups. Fortified by such credentials as the following "minute," the minister is then welcomed wherever he may go both for his own sake and for the sake of those whom he represents and whose authority he bears. When he later returns this minute to his own Meeting which issued it, it should be endorsed with the approval of Friends among whom

he has labored in his journeys. The accurate entry of these minutes over the centuries constitutes a precious check upon the frequent movements of "public Friends." Here is a typical "minute" as issued today by American Friends for service abroad: "A. B., a beloved member of this Monthly Meeting and a Minister of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, proposes to spend some time visiting Friends in Germany in the love of the Gospel. Dr. A. B. spent more than a year in Germany in 1924-25 as a member of the mission of the American Friends Service Committee engaged in child feeding. At that time he had occasion to visit Friends' centers in various parts of Germany and has cherished the hope of renewing former friendships made at that time. The opportunity now presents itself, again under the American Friends Service Committee, to return for visitation of Friends in Germany and elsewhere, as the way may open, including attendance at the German Yearly Meeting at Bad Pyrmont.

"The members of this Meeting, in commending Dr. A. B. to the care of Friends whom he may visit, desire that he may carry to Friends in Germany the personal expression of our love and fellowship in the Life we share. We hope that his visit may serve to deepen the mutual sense of fellowship between Friends in Germany and in this country."

This document, signed by the Clerk, was further endorsed by Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting and

by the Representative Meeting of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

More recently, as we shall see when speaking of the American Friends Service Committee, foreign travel has more often been for the encouragement of Quaker groups, or for definite social relief work abroad. The days of the great evangelical preachers, whether Quaker or Methodist, are gone. No more do people gather by the thousands in the open air to hear sermons which might last several hours. The work for which Friends seem to have a gift is family and group visitation. The sheer physical endurance required of the old-fashioned preacher may be lacking, but the love and sympathy are still felt. We are not aware of any other religious group which has so extensively practiced family visitation in Gospel love. Friends are the poorer because the custom has so nearly passed out in America, while surviving in the smaller groups abroad. It required a great deal of time and infinite tact and tenderness. Stephen Grellet has recorded in an unpublished note the secret of success in a religious exercise for which he had such a marked gift: "I proceeded in it with much lowliness of spirit, keeping close to my Heavenly Guide. He so condescended that on my coming into a family, it seemed as if I could read at once their very state, and a feeling of divine love clothing me, enabled me to communicate my concern for them, so as, in many instances, to reach the witness for Truth in them."

The foreign travels of the Friends took them from home sometimes for years at a time. The question may well arise, "How could they feel it right to forsake husband or wife or children for so long a time?" The question involves the whole of family relationship. On the principle involved in the question, it can be definitely said that the "public Friend" put his sense of mission above any other claim. But the unity of spirit between husband and wife was so complete that no weakening of affection resulted from the separation. Husbands gave up wives, and wives gave up husbands who received a commission from on high. After all, if whalers, explorers, and warriors have absented themselves for long periods from their families, Friends may be allowed the same prerogative when called by the Spirit to a definite task.

Restraint in the expression of family affection is part and parcel of the Quaker moderation of speech which we noticed earlier. In the printed journals of their travel experiences, little is said of letters to and from home and of the tender feelings which were evoked by these letters. Terms of excessive endearment are rare. But it is evident that a perfect understanding existed between married couples, and that each was willing to surrender the other to a higher duty inspired from on high.

A Quaker love letter of 1682 is that of William Penn written when parting from his wife Gulielma Springett to set out for the new world: "My dear

wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as the most worthy, of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest."

Another of more recent times and couched in more familiar language is that of Anna Forster to her husband William Forster (1784-1854) in 1820 just a week after he had left her at Bristol when sailing for a long visit to Friends in America: "My depths have been at times *very* deep; I have *felt* indeed; but I must reverently acknowledge that I have been greatly, unexpectedly supported and comforted, again and again; and that in a way so sweet to my feelings! Sometimes I have felt such a cheerful calm; I could not doubt where it came from. And then such a lively sense, at times, that my dearest was only gone for a time—that he is coming back to me! But though this has predominated above expectation, I have indeed had to drink a bitter cup—a very suffering path has this separation been to me; and must not I expect it will often

be? I do not write in a complaining spirit—far otherwise, I trust—but in remembrance of the past and in anticipation of what may be the future. O that we may yet be encouraged to ‘offer the sacrifices of righteousness and put our trust in the Lord;’ then all will be well.

“Our darling boy is finely and truly lovely—so very affectionate in his manner, in such a sweet disposition the last day or two. The day after I came home I made the exertion to walk out into the garden, which of itself I keenly felt. When we reached here, about half-past nine at night, I felt a truly cheering support. Thou seemed almost at my side, my love. I have had confirmation on confirmation that this is my right place. This will be thy comfort, I know. Our dear mother is sitting by me. Her influence and company have been sweet; and I hope I have tried to make her comfortable. She is very dear to me! and I do not forget that she is *thy* own tender mother, and one who feels so much about thee. When this reaches thee, I suppose thou wilt be entering upon the very important work assigned thee. It seemed to elevate me above nature, to consider why thou wast there, and now ‘Be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might.’ Fear not, and all will be well with thee. I seemed helped beyond myself: something like rejoicing.”¹

¹ *Memoirs of William Forster*, edited by Benjamin Seebohm, 2 volumes, London, 1865, vol. ii, p. 48.

How the necessary expense of such distant travels was met is not so clear. Some like William Allen, J. J. Gurney, Stephen Grellet, Thomas Scattergood, and William Savery had an income from their business or from that of their family. Others were unquestionably aided by Meeting funds for such purposes, or by individual contributions from those who shared their concern, but who stayed at home. It should be remembered that Quakerism is an international Society, and that Friends have always extended a bountiful hospitality to those who were travelling "in the love of the Gospel." "Public Friends" seldom see the inside of a hotel. Their expenses are limited to transportation, and nowadays automobiles have reduced this item to a minimum. An English traveller in America in 1805 makes this appreciative comment in his journal: "I have often thought it is a great privilege in our Society, that such an interchange of hospitality and freedom prevails among us. It has a great tendency to smooth the path of life, especially to strangers in a strange land."² In fact such interchange of hospitality among people of essentially the same faith and way of life has been of incalculable value in keeping open channels of communication between nations, even when they were at war or separated by feelings of suspicion or fear. In the present and last European wars, the Friends both by formal Epistles and by private correspondence have been

² Robert Sutcliff, *Travels*, York, 1811, p. 105.

able to keep up a precious contact with those on the other side. One can but think how great a force of reconciliation would become effective, if the Roman Catholic church and the international service clubs, through channels that are open to them, were concerned to keep good will effective at such times. The Quakers believe that there can be no moratorium on good will and on the obligation to show it.

At the sessions of their Yearly Meetings it is customary to send and receive many Epistles or formal greetings from one group of Friends to another, both at home and abroad. These serve to keep close the bonds of sympathy and unity between such countries as Japan, China, India, the United States, England, Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries. Any Quaker traveller with a mission is received in such groups interchangeably by a sort of international grape-vine as the result of the annual greetings. Besides the Epistles addressed specifically by one Yearly Meeting to another, many issue General Epistles, of which two recent specimens may give a better idea than any description. That of London Yearly Meeting in 1936 reads as follows:

“To Friends Everywhere:

“Dear Friends—At the beginning of our Yearly Meeting our thoughts were directed to the proposed World Conference of Friends to be held near Philadelphia in 1937. Already Friends of many races and nations are studying and preparing for this Confer-

ence. There is inspiration in the thought of the increase of vision and capacity which is coming to us from the groups of seekers in West and East, North and South, who have made and are making contributions from their widely varying experience.

"The aim of Yearly Meeting goes beyond the enlargement of our own borders. We come together to know more of God. We seek to know His purpose for His world, and to offer our Society as a means for the fulfillment of that purpose. In the person of Jesus, God showed how a life completely surrendered to His will can make that will effective in human lives, and human relationships. In our time we are seeing on all hands the practical denial of the value of the human personalities through whom we believe God should be revealed. In the unemployed, the homeless and stateless refugees, the victims of political domination and exploitation for financial gain—in all on whom is imposed an undue share of the world's suffering, we see those for whom Christ died. We have felt a deep sense of shame that we have so little realized our oneness with them. We have offered so small a measure of love to serve the world's need, while others who profess no loyalty to Christ have undertaken tasks which his avowed followers have neglected or failed to accomplish.

"Men's hearts are failing them for fear. With no definite conviction to uphold them, with no real standard by which to reassure and adjust them-

selves, our fellow-beings, the souls whom we are bidden to love and care for, because they and we are one, are drifting rapidly into a darkness which is death. We have asked ourselves: Are we fit for the task of being reflectors of the Light of God?

"We have tried in this Yearly Meeting to be seekers and finders together, and have desired earnestly that we may cooperate with other like-minded seekers. We have been reminded that Christ calls his followers to the Mount of Vision to share his spacious, expanding, adventurous view of life. 'Give us this day our daily discovery' should be the prayer of each one of us. Yet what we have found together has been, over and over again, the conviction that for all the tasks before us, whether of the family, the social order, witnessing for peace or for a true way of living, the responsibility is a personal one. We must learn to walk in that way which is the truth and which alone leads to life—the way of persuading, self-giving, compassionate love.

"It may be that even now we are living in one of the Days of the Son of Man, in which we may hope to see the Kingdom of God come with power. In preparation for its coming, the essential task for ourselves, our Society, our nation, is repentance. 'Except a man be born anew, he cannot see the Kingdom of God.'

"Signed in and on behalf of London Yearly Meeting

"WILFRID E. LITTLEBOY, CLERK."

Another Epistle which is typical is that issued by Canada and Genesee Yearly Meetings in 1935:

“To Yearly Meetings of Friends Everywhere:

“Dear Friends—The reading of epistles from Friends the world over has brought to us a deepening sense of spiritual unity and fellowship. Geographical boundaries, distinction of race and colour fade away in the light of God’s presence; and we are made to feel ourselves as members of one great family and society. Our deepest sympathies go out to Friends in Europe during their difficult times and especially to German Friends in whose behalf a special time of prayer was held during our Yearly Meeting.

“While we have been brought low as we contemplated the apparently growing despair, disillusionment and fear amongst nations and individuals throughout the world today, nevertheless we have been challenged by the visions of a new society—the Kingdom of God on Earth; when unemployment shall no longer break men’s spirit, when little children shall not start life under hopeless handicaps, when hunger, want and disease shall no more stalk the land, and when there shall be no more war.

“We have been encouraged to find running through all your epistles like a beam of light the call to personal spiritual renewal and consecration as the method of approaching the great task that confronts us. We realize that only in God and His

eternal sufficiency lies the answer to the world's needs. Therefore spiritual forces must be set in operation and the whole social structure must be impregnated with spiritual influence before there can be any certain hope of a changed social order. All plans for such change will be as houses built upon the sand unless they rest upon this spiritual foundation. We are convinced that a new social order must first be brought about as a transformation in the hearts of men before it can become a reality in the affairs of the world. Thus we turn back again to the challenge of individual responsibility and faithfulness, realizing that only in complete dependence upon God we find the remedy for the healing of the nations. Only the hand of God laid upon the world can cure the consuming fevers of fear, hate and greed. But God's hands are our hands, and it is only as we place our God-touched hands upon the infected areas of society that we can allay the fever of the world and spread the healing principles of His Kingdom.

"Signed on behalf of the two Yearly Meetings."

The following is an extract from an Epistle just received from the cosmopolitan Shanghai Meeting addressed to Friends in Philadelphia: "As the world has grown more closely connected in this latter period of history, we have perceived local problems to be more clearly linked with the common problems that face us all, and our testimony here in Shanghai,

as yours elsewhere, becomes a testimony not at the edge of a world struggle between good and evil but at its very heart. . . . The issues before the world are not those of this or that war. The issues for us must be those of a single dynamic peace, the creation of a social fabric that, like our method of worship, gives men individual freedom before God, yet develops in them responsibility to and for the group. This can be done only through a deeper understanding of God and his purpose for mankind. . . . The love of God and leadership of Christ is with you as it is with us. May we learn to depend on these so that our action, our spirit, our understanding and our life are in harmony with God and with each other.

“With love, your friends,

“J. USANG LI, SECRETARY.”

The question presented by travelling ministers has caused us to touch upon the Quaker conception of the family, but more remains to be said. The Quaker family is the social unit, and a strong tie of solidarity binds together even cousins to the third and fourth degree. It is probable that the consciousness of being a religious minority in the population and the now faint memory of earlier persecutions have tended to draw Friends together to a marked degree. This characteristic is most pronounced around Philadelphia because of the great amount of intermarriage there has been throughout the years

between many families in that region. Strangers are justified in their impression that in some Quaker communities everyone is related to everyone else.

The sanctity with which the marriage relation is treated is only the point of departure for the solidarity of the family. The possession of a common religious heritage, through the birthright membership which prevailed generally until recent times, and the cultivation of a common way of life have also counted for much. Not so much formal social functions as a great sociability has tended to bring these family clans together and hold them there through successive generations. In older days, when Friends were largely a rural people, the First-day and mid-week meetings offered a valued opportunity for social intercourse and exchange of news. To the astonishment of strangers this after-meeting sociability still continues, though the necessity for it has gone. Whereas most church-goers disperse promptly at the close of the service, Friends linger in and around their meeting-houses for a long time, chatting and perhaps making arrangements for the next week. There is a general buzz of friendly conversation in which everyone joins with his neighbors, and which seems incongruous after the solemnity of the meeting for worship. Again, the old tradition of rural neighborliness and the intimacy of family relationships must be pleaded in extenuation of this practice.

As in other denominations, there is a wide diver-

gence between the plainness and the worldliness of Quaker families. This means of course that wealth, marriage and social contacts have affected the simplicity which was once common to all members of the Society. Some live in considerable luxury, and pattern their lives in accordance with the exactions of worldly society, while others continue to maintain in the home the ancient simplicity to which Friends are enjoined. There are few Quakers who are in financial penury, due perhaps to the care and prudence with which they attend to their affairs; but where financial help is required, relatives or more rarely the Meeting itself assume the responsibility for the most urgent needs. It is not too much to say, however, that whatever may be the scale of domestic economy in Quaker households, there is a complete understanding of common spiritual foundations to be felt in them all. The inward unity prevails over the outward semblance.

CHAPTER V

QUAKER EDUCATION

WE HAVE now briefly seen the Quakers receiving their inspiration in their meetings for worship and applying this inspiration or spiritual motivation in their own affairs. Their family life and their attitude as citizens have been treated. Neither as citizens of their own country nor as citizens of the world have they stopped short where we have left them. Their spiritual philosophy has from the first carried over into a larger field, where their influence has been profound. It is our thought that there could be some interest in following Quaker practice into certain "extra-curricular" activities with which they have been particularly occupied, such as education, peace, slavery, business and the social order. If we are not mistaken, we shall find in these interests the same motive for action: the Quakers' profound conception of the value of the individual and his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness because of what there is of God in every man.

Our later attitudes in life are largely affected by three early influences: the home, the church and the school. We have already seen the influence of the home and of the church to which Quaker youth is

exposed, but the influence of education must also count heavily.

All schools, under whatsoever control, have much in common. They represent the solicitude of society for the rising generation. Curriculum, methods of instruction and classification of students vary greatly. But the irreducible intention always is that youth may be put in possession of what the Past has acquired of knowledge and wisdom. In elementary and secondary schools the effort is devoted to those rudiments which will give youth the necessary knowledge to gain a livelihood and become literate and responsible citizens; in the higher grades of instruction there are added to these rudiments the scholarly skills which will enable young people to think for themselves, form judgments, delve into the unknown, and flash the mind into those fields of knowledge which still await exploration. In brief, all education whether "liberal" or "practical" may be stated to have one or more of these objectives in view.

The foundation of two schools, one for boys at Waltham and one for girls at Shacklewell in 1668, upon the advice of George Fox, testifies to the early solicitude of Friends for the education of their youth. It was only twenty years since Fox had begun to preach his new gospel with its insistence upon the vital individual leading of the Spirit in the affairs of men. There was nothing to indicate the bearing of education upon the spread of this

new message, when Fox declared with a fine breadth of purpose, that the Society's youth should be instructed "in whatsoever things were civil and useful in the creation." Such a statement leaves the gate wide open for anything, but the lack of any specific intention to inculcate the new religious doctrines is significant. We shall see later how and why no declaration of this intention was needed. For the moment, it is sufficient to remark that the first purpose of Quaker education was that it should be "practical," that it should teach Quaker youth what it needed to know in order to make a living. For nearly two hundred years in England and America that remained the limited purpose of Quaker schools, so far as the curriculum and scope of study were concerned. Only in the nineteenth century, as we shall see, did the foundation of some Quaker colleges give evidence of a growing desire to reach out into wider fields of literary and scientific instruction.

It is not intended here to write the history of Quaker education. That has been done very recently and very competently.¹ What interests us here is to learn what education fits into the Quaker philosophy of life and the spirit in which all Quaker education is conducted. Under the latter head there may be something of significance at the present time.

¹ Howard H. Brinton, *Quaker Education in Theory and Practice*, Wallingford, Penna., 1940.

After 1668 the establishment of Quaker schools went on apace. Dr. Brinton states that by 1671 there were fifteen boarding-schools in England kept by Friends, and by the middle of the eighteenth century there were at least twenty such schools. At present English Friends have ten boarding-schools of which some are co-educational and some are not. Of day-schools there are of course many more. As early as 1690 London Yearly Meeting advised that Monthly Meetings should establish their own day-schools and encouraged Friends to send their children to schools that were thus established. From that time until now the Monthly Meeting has been the educational unit as it is the business unit of Quakerism. The care of the Monthly Meetings for their community schools has insured the immediate participation of many Quaker groups, through their school committees, in the vital problems of elementary and secondary education. In addition, some Yearly Meetings have a Council on Education which includes the care and surveillance of all the Quaker schools within its sphere. It is not too much to say that this system of local control of education has insured the "concern" of the Society at large for the proper training of its youth. Of the day-schools under the control of Friends in England and America there are an astonishingly large number. The great majority of these schools are coeducational, for the Quaker conception of the equality of the sexes, already plainly stated by George Fox,

finds its natural expression in coeducation. The same preference for coeducation is exhibited in boarding-schools and even in the Quaker colleges in America, of which latter all but one are today co-educational.

The question of patronage as between day-schools and boarding-schools is altogether a question of the patron's choice. Some patrons believe in keeping their children in the home as long as possible, while others prefer that their children associate as early as possible in community living conditions, and profit by the favorable study programme which usually accompanies boarding-school life. The main consideration of the Society has been that Friends' children shall attend schools governed by the ideals and principles of Friends. We shall see presently that this is not altogether mere prejudice, but that the Quaker schools have quite definitely something precious to offer.

The Curriculum

First, however, a few words may be said regarding the curriculum. Since the earliest days when the curriculum was so simple as to include only the elementary branches most necessary in civil life, together with some training in the manual arts, the field of study in Quaker schools has been extended as in other schools to include all that modern pedagogy has found to be desirable. Already early in

the last century many Quaker academies were served by college graduates who carried their pupils, especially in science, well into the present undergraduate course of studies. It may be truly said that no schools today are more up to date in respect to their curriculum and their methods of instruction than are those maintained by Friends. As may be suitable for different age levels, the entire repertoire of the so-called arts and sciences is available in Quaker schools and colleges. There has never been any refusal to include such substantial disciplines as Latin, Greek and the modern languages in the intellectual equipment of a Quaker, witness the proficiency of Robert Barclay, William Penn, Benjamin Furly, George Keith, William Caton and others in the first generation of the Society. But this proficiency was not considered essential to endow them with spiritual power. The latter was a different gift—the gift of God and not of men. It is correct to observe, indeed, that foreign languages, including Dutch, found favor rather as the keys to international correspondence and to certain moral and religious discourses than as keys to the treasures of the world's literary art. It will be recalled that the early Friends were "called off" from music, painting, the drama and artistic poetry as from dangerous diversions. It might be shown that this fear of the lure of artistic beauty, though no longer avowed, has left a marked effect upon educational emphasis in Friends' schools. It is not altogether intentional,

but it is an observable fact that Quaker youth tends to elect, and to distinguish itself by its proficiency in, natural science rather than in literary or linguistic lines. In general, Quaker talent as developed in Quaker schools has shown itself in science rather than in the liberal arts. Miss Fry² lists fifty-eight Fellows of the Royal Society who were Quakers or of Quaker descent, elected between 1663 and 1915. The reason for this inclination seems to be historical rather than congenital. One unfortunate result of emphasis upon the scientific side of the curriculum has been in our day that the Society is short of interpreters of Quakerism. Neither in the English language nor in French and German are there an adequate number of persons who can write and speak effectively upon the distinguishing principles of Friends. At the present time in America and on the Continent of Europe, to say nothing of more remote parts, there is an unsatisfied demand for persons who can write and speak with authority on behalf of Quakerism as a way of life. The number of American Friends who can convey the Quaker message in French or German is probably less than the fingers on the two hands. We shall see later what the Quakers can do when it comes to international aid and good will, but unfortunately the shortage on the linguistic and literary side is beyond doubt.

There is, then, nothing worthy of comment in the formal curriculum of Quaker education. Indeed,

² *Quaker Ways*, London, 1933.

when speaking of the ministry, as exercised today, we have seen the importance of a well-stored mind and a skill in presentation which must accompany the call to preach, if the Quaker ministry is to satisfy the demands of our time. One may study what he pleases without let or hindrance. Friends are no longer afraid of any branch of knowledge, if it is pursued in the proper spirit.

The distinguishing feature of Quaker education, however, lies somewhere else. It is this distinguishing feature, and not any particular course of study, which has brought into Quaker institutions so many patrons from outside the Society. With the exception of one boarding-school, every Quaker school and college in America is open, under favorable circumstances, to consider applications from non-Quakers. The proportion of Friends enrolled in their institutions varies greatly. But the Quaker management and guidance, through committees and boards, continues just the same, regardless of the outside patronage. The service rendered by their schools constitutes the primary claim of Friends upon the recognition of their neighbors. The Society has exercised through its educational institutions its chief influence upon the population.

It was said that the number of Quaker schools in America is very large. Some are day-schools and some are for boarders. Some are of ancient foundation and hold considerable endowment funds, while some are of recent establishment and must pay their

own way. These schools are under the control of committees appointed by the Monthly or the Yearly Meetings and are, of course, situated within the geographical limits of the Meeting which is responsible for them. These committees have far more interest in, and control over, the schools than would be the case in the schools of some other denominations. The Quaker love of democratic control through committees prevents the assumption of any dictatorial powers by even the most competent principal or head-master. There is no doubt about such schools being *Quaker* schools. And yet the curriculum itself has no more suggestion of specific religious education than have similar institutions of the Roman Catholic or Episcopal Churches. There is the usual instruction in biblical literature and sometimes in the characteristic doctrines of Friends, but there is no attempt to foist these doctrines on the students nor to proselyte through the ordinary processes of instruction. Whatever Friends accomplish in this direction is through the brief week-day or First-day meetings for worship which the students attend. The schools which are attached to the most active Meetings have certainly brought into the Society a considerable number of persons who as children became used to Quaker worship.

Most of their schools, usually attached to Meetings, are to be found in Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana and Tennessee.

There were formerly many more Friends' academies in Quaker territory, but the tendency in many parts has been for tax-supported schools to replace private schools, and even to be directly established upon the Quaker foundation.

The reason for all this investment in elementary and secondary education is the same as that of the Catholic Church in America: the desire to insure a certain control, not of the curriculum, but of other character-forming influences. It can be seen what an expense is involved for those who, in addition to paying the public school-tax, must also pay for their own education in what are called "private schools." Some Quakers either do not care enough about their own schools or have not the means to pay twice for schooling their children, so they patronize the "public schools." But there is strong pressure among Friends, as among Catholics, to patronize their own schools. The question may now be answered: "What do the Friends think they get in their schools which is so precious?" and "Why do so many non-Friends choose to attend Quaker schools?"

Beyond the Curriculum

There has already been a hint of the answer in the vigilant watch and ward which the responsible committees exercise over the schools within their care. In addition to the ancient solicitude of Friends that their children should be guarded from the evil

which is in the world—a solicitude which is now partly nullified by new and undreamed-of means of interruption—there is something else which is very precious and which is the distinguishing feature in Friends' schools. This is the Society's conviction that character is more important than intellectual brilliance; it is better to be good than to be smart. There is a connection here between Quaker scholastic standards and the standards of the Quaker ministry. At the beginning of Quakerism neither Latin nor Greek, neither Oxford nor Cambridge, were needed to produce an effective minister. George Fox poured his broadsides into the "priests" and the "professors," as he called the complacent laymen of his day. But humility and righteousness and a clean life and a close walk with God *were* required. The Quaker minister has always ministered through his life rather than through his spoken words.

There is nothing peculiar to the Quaker in this solicitude for the character of their youth. They belong here in the best classic tradition of education—one that has been too much lost from sight in the writings and teachings of the professional educators of today, where serious references to religion as the basis of character are studiously avoided. But in William Penn's second charter of 1708 in which he restated his object in providing for public education in Philadelphia, he said: "The prosperity and welfare of any people depends in a great measure upon

the good Educaccon of Youth, and their early instructucon in the principles of true religeon and vertue, and qualifying them to Serve their Country and themselves, by breeding them to reading, writing and learning of languages, usfull arts and Sciences, Suitable to their Sex, age and degree, which cannot be affected in any manner So well as bye erecting publict Schools for the purpose ec.” It is evident that such a moral purpose and, in the best sense, such a patriotic purpose, cannot be effected merely by setting up a school and faculty, and expecting that the desired result will follow. Character is caught, not taught. It must be built up, not by the studies in the curriculum, but by those who teach the pupils. This would seem to be a self-evident truth, but it has been too much lost from sight in America, where the numbers to be handled in the public school system are so great that personal contact and influence of teachers and taught, have been necessarily weakened. A fine statement on this subject was made in 1501 by Aldus Manutius the elder, the Venetian printer and publisher, in his introduction to the Rudiments of Grammar. It was addressed to elementary teachers as to those who form our manners and direct our youth: “Remember that you are under the obligation both to educate and train properly in morals those whom you have accepted as pupils. The jar will retain for a long time the odor of that which it received when new. The training we receive in youth is of real import-

ance, and you should therefore consider yourselves not only as the masters and teachers of the young but also as their parents. In fact, I consider the question whether you yourselves are good or evil of such moment, that I venture to say that you are the chief cause of all the good and evil throughout the world." After thus placing the teacher *in loco parentis*, wise old Aldus continues: "Therefore, we must put forth every effort to the end that the young may be trained simultaneously in good morals and in the liberal arts. For the one result cannot be accomplished without the other. But if we were obliged to fail in one of these, I should give preference to the claims of morality rather than to those of even the highest culture."

Any Quaker educational committee would approve these sentiments, but how is this happy effect upon the character of the individual child and upon his attitude as a responsible citizen to be produced? The Quakers find their answer in the sacredness of every individual pupil. He is not to be bullied or browbeaten, but to be treated with a degree of respect for his personality. He is to be influenced by kindness and friendliness rather than by dictatorial methods of harsh discipline. He is not to be coerced, but to be won over to a better way. Friends seek to find as teachers in their schools those persons who share this sense of responsibility. They go to some pains, by extended search and interviews, to discover those who wish to make a career of teaching,

those who have a life to share and communicate in addition to the intellectual competence which they must also possess. There are not too many would-be teachers who can qualify under this rather exacting requirement. For the importance of character-building has been as much neglected in the preparation of teachers as it has been in the case of the pupils. And yet we all acknowledge the abiding influence in our own lives effected by a noble and high-minded man or woman whom we may have met in our educational experience. When we revisit our old schools or colleges, it is some beloved teacher for whom we inquire and whom we seek out. In later life we know that it is the personality of some teachers, rather than the books and laboratories, which has left an indelible impression upon our lives. Every school does well to have a Mr. Chips or a Miss Chips as an incarnation of this friendly affection of teacher for pupil.

So Friends are justified for their care in the selection of teachers. Such teachers must have a real interest in the deeper welfare of their pupils. Not only is the discipline of studies to be insured, but also there must develop an affectionate intimacy between older and younger participants in the pursuit of learning. Visitors to Friends' schools may comment unfavorably upon the plant or the efficiency of the pedagogical methods employed, but there is seldom anything but praise for the friendly spirit and the human interest which are felt as soon as one

crosses the threshold. From the principal's office all through the class-rooms and on the athletic fields one meets the expression of personal interest in the welfare of the individual pupil. We believe there can be no question but that this is the reason for the esteem in which Friends' elementary and preparatory schools are held by non-Quaker patrons. The ideal for such schools was recently stated to be "High scholastic ideals, adequately paid teachers, and culture infused with the religious spirit." If that ideal can be preserved in Quaker schools, they will not lack patrons.

In pursuance of their cultivation of friendliness and of social sympathy in a broad sense, the Quakers in their schools have encouraged self-government of pupils under the oversight of teachers delegated for the purpose. They have sought to make their children self-reliant and responsible, and thus constitute a model social community where each may be considerate of all. Self-help in the school economy is shared by the pupils in many Quaker schools. Going beyond the confines of the school, students have been taken into places where they could see for themselves the problems presented by the present social order. An attempt is made to awaken their sense of responsibility for this social order. The sympathy and understanding thus created in early life, frequently bear fruit in later life. We see here the effort already emphasized to carry over into the daily life of Quaker

citizens the sense of brotherliness toward all men, imbibed with the religious principles of the Society.

If we pass now to Friends' institutions of higher learning, we shall note the existence in America of ten colleges founded since 1833 under the complete control of Friends. These colleges in order of their foundation are: Haverford 1833, Guilford 1837, Earlham 1847, Swarthmore 1864, William Penn 1873, Wilmington 1875, Pacific 1891, Friends' 1898, Nebraska Central 1898, Whittier 1901. Most of these are creations of Yearly Meetings to which they are responsible, and a few are the creations of independent Quaker corporations. In addition to these ten colleges, Bryn Mawr was founded and is in large degree managed by Friends; Johns Hopkins, Brown and Cornell were all founded by Quaker philanthropists but are no longer identified with the Society of their first benefactors. In the group of ten Quaker colleges all but the first named are for both sexes. They all offer, in varying degrees of academic reputation, the ordinary curriculum in the arts and sciences. Probably the distinguishing feature of their product is the number of teachers they turn out. Among their patrons may be found members of a score of religious denominations, and they all represent a cross-cut of the population. In no section of Quakerdom are there enough Friends to support unaided an institution of higher learning. Hence the number of non-Quakers, which will be found

probably in all cases to exceed the number of Quaker students in attendance.

After the factor of geographical convenience, the most important reason for non-Quaker patronage of these colleges is the spirit of the campus and the friendly influences which patrons know that their youth will encounter. When ministers of other denominations have been asked why they chose a Quaker college for their children, they have been known to reply: "Well, a little dose of Quakerism won't do them any harm." The dose in some cases may be small, but so far as it is received, the effect seems beneficial. For in the colleges, as in the schools, there is a demand for more friendliness between professor and student. It is not easy to find professors who, in addition to all their scholarly training, have the best welfare of their students at heart. We certainly cannot go so far as to maintain that the choice of faculty members is always happy in this respect; but where the management and the administration of the college are in the hands of Friends, there will be found the old Quaker solicitude for the influence of character, as well as of scholarship, on the part of the professors. The gratitude of patrons for this personal care of their youth is so often expressed that it constitutes one of the abiding satisfactions of a Quaker educator. Every Friends' institution should have on its campus some memorable examples of the good life, if the Quaker tradition in education is to be preserved.

The present writer cannot sum up his idea of the place of religion in a Quaker college better than in the following statement: "I would require that our appointees be upstanding men whose daily walk among us should leave no doubt as to their personal standards of integrity and of the strength hidden in their inner life. I should further require that they speak with reverence of matters that are worthy of reverence, and that they should not belittle those things which have been found by the race to be pure, true, lovely and of good report. There is a common type of instructor who is nothing but an animated machine, a technical expert who proceeds by rule of thumb and who has no bowels of mercy or milk of human kindness. He has no inner life, no unseen depths of inspiration, but treats his students as though they were as soulless as himself. Our colleges are no place for such. What we need is laymen who have the welfare of their students constantly upon their hearts, who enter into their students' lives and win their trust and affection. If the power of conventional worship has been lost for a time, there is one force that will never pass out of the world, and that is the force of attraction that a noble character has for youth. Against the use of that force there is no law. If it can't be with hymns and orisons in a dim religious light, it must be done man to man on the campus, in the study, and on the playing field. . . . It is a mistake to suppose that Presidents and Deans are the only men whose business it is to ex-

ercise this solicitude and fraternal oversight. It is the business of all the Faculty in their intimate contacts with students to cultivate their friendship and by tact to win their confidence. . . . If education neglects the spiritual, it is unworthy of the name, and if it delegates the spiritual to the professional, it will in these days be ineffectual. . . . What counts is the individual contact. A great preacher is an occasional inspiration, but it is line upon line and precept upon precept that finally penetrates. . . . Thus in friendly contacts between older and younger fellow-students must the beautiful fruits of the spirit be cherished. After all, this method is only a return to the method employed by the highest Authority we know, the greatest Expert in the art of loving men."

There are certainly some Quaker colleges which can say as one of them has recently said: "The Quaker principles developed concerning education, stem, as do the religious teachings, from a consciousness of God and direct access to Him. This college is to continue to be, in fact as well as in name, a Friends' college. This implies that it will follow as nearly as possible the teachings of Christ as interpreted by the Society of Friends, in all of its institutional affairs and relationships. The governing Board of this College reaffirms its belief that a democracy is as yet the best plan devised by man for his government and most nearly in line with the social teachings of Christ." The lack of the more

formal type of religious services in a Friends' college is perhaps fully compensated for by the thought of religion not as something apart from life, something injected from outside, but rather a complete spiritual health. It is a simple, pervasive spirit of reverence, of sincerity, and of aspiration for the highest values of personality. This is something quite definite, but hard to define. It must be felt, rather than read about, in order to be appreciated.

CHAPTER VI

QUAKER BUSINESS ETHICS

IF THE Society of Friends stands not for a Sunday religion but for a seven-day religion, it will be necessary to show its members at work, engaged in making a living. People must have bread as well as Inner Light. Perhaps more than most Christians, the Quakers have carried this Light into their business, into the work-a-day world, where it was and still is sorely needed. There is an abundance of ritual Christianity in the world, which means the saving of their souls to millions of Christians. But these ritual forms do not seem to have much effect on the progress of humanity. Whenever religion stops at mere ritual and declares a moratorium for six days following, it fails to touch the sore spots in society which religion should heal. The Quakers were possessed from the outset by a besetting concern for the welfare of others as well as for their own. And that for two simple reasons: first, they recognized in every human being, Christian or pagan, a measure of Light which had been granted to him to profit withal, and which made him their brother; and second, they felt a burning responsibility to afford everyone coming within the sphere of their influence the opportunity

to live the more abundant life which Christ came to bestow.

The Quakers have two favorite professions, that of teaching and that of medicine. Both are social professions offering constant openings for spiritual and moral as well as technical benefits. But it is business and trade which have occupied the greatest number of Quakers, and it is there that we must look for some of their most characteristic traits. Moderation, sincerity and honesty will be found to mark their dealings with others. That their reputation and success as business men grew rapidly and continuously is a tribute to the importance of these qualities rather than to any particular acumen which they personally possessed. That they clung to these traits so tenaciously amid the temptations of business life is due to the tender consciences for which they were indebted to their personal share of the Inner Light. It will be recalled that one of the functions of this effective influence is its restraint from evil. If there was any evil concealed in a business transaction, if there was any temptation lurking beneath a fair exterior, the Quakers had an uncanny sense of its presence and avoided it as a devil's wile. Contemporary documents of the seventeenth and later centuries contain so much evidence on this point that modern writers on the Quakers in business have been able to choose their examples at will. Their work makes the present writer's task a simple one, but the interested reader will find a wealth of

information and authentic anecdote in the following books: Joshua Rowntree, *Social Service: Its Place in the Society of Friends* (London, 1913); Isabel Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry Before 1800* (London, 1930); Paul H. Emden, *Quakers in Commerce* (London, 1939).

The Quaker tradesman or artisan in early days was enjoined by the official pronouncements of the Society to be careful of two things: first, that he maintain a conscience void of offense to God and man, which means that he should be on his guard against temptation; and second, that he should always remember, as Joshua Rowntree has put it, that there is ever "a mutual interest between buyer and seller." Unlike conditions in the Society today, there were in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a large number of Friends who were small shop-keepers, such as tailors, shoemakers, drapers, butchers, and also artisans, such as carpenters, joiners, carters and sailors, together with apprentices and domestic servants. The watch which the Meetings exercised over this class of members was very close. As a consequence, there developed a corporate standard of ethics of a high order. George Fox frequently held before his followers the idea that more was expected from anyone holding the principles of Friends than was expected of the world's people. He repeats again and again the shame which many Christians should feel when they compare their moral standards with those of the Jews and Turks.

Such comparisons as were suggested resulted not in complacency among the early Quakers, but in daily resolve in humility to be worthy of their high calling.

In 1679 Fox wrote in a general paper to his followers: "And now, my dear Friends, the Lord doth require more of you than he doth of other people; because he hath committed more to you. He requires the fruits of His Spirit, of the Light, of the Gospel, of the Grace, and of the Truth. . . . The world also expects more from Friends than from other people; because you profess more. Therefore you should be more just than others in your words and dealings, and more righteous, holy, and pure in your lives and conversations; so that your lives and conversations may preach. For the world's tongues and mouths have preached long enough; but their lives and conversations have denied what their tongues have professed and declared . . . And, dear Friends, strive to excel one another in virtue, that ye may grow in love, that excellent way which unites all to Christ and God. Stand up for God's glory, and mind that which concerns the Lord's honour, that in no wise his power may be abused, or his name evil spoken of, by any evil talkers or walkers: but that in all things God may be honoured, and ye may glorify him in your bodies, souls, and spirits, the little time ye have to live."¹

The *Advices* addressed to members on the subject of what we should call "business ethics" had teeth in

¹ *Journal*, ii:340-341.

them. In the early records of Meeting business there are many instances of the reproof and even disownment of erring brethren who fell short of the Society's code. Only after public confession and restitution could such a man be reinstated in good standing.

Like the contemporary Puritans, with whom they had in most respects little in common, the Quakers saw nothing wrong in making money, provided it was made in accordance with their moral principles, and provided it was regarded as a gift of the Lord to be held for His service. Despite the constant fines and the restraint of their property and even of their household necessities and the tools of their trade, the Quakers prospered in business. They were careful, prudent, moderate, thrifty and honest. They kept accurate accounts which were at times inspected by Meeting committees, they made their wills when they were in health, they safeguarded the interests of children of a first marriage when a widow or widower married a second time. They had to be generous in helping each other, for the accusations lodged against them by civil and ecclesiastical informers for failure to pay tithes and for failure to attend church were constantly reducing them to need and privation. "The Meeting for Sufferings," which was early set up in London and was carried as an institution to America, bears a significant title: it was charged with the oversight and prompt assistance of members who were in prison or distress. In

times of disaster or times of economic pressure the Quakers contributed freely to relieve the need, even of those who had personally persecuted them. This form of assistance is properly described as simple charity in the early days of the Society. Later, in the neighborhood of 1800, when so much progress was made in organizing social relief, we may with propriety speak of Quaker good will, exercised upon a larger scale, as scientific philanthropy.

Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the Quaker insistence upon moderation in dress and fashions. This was the object of one of Fox's earliest cares, and it will be fitting to quote at this point some of his remarks, in 1654, "To such as follow the World's Fashions." What he says here has a bearing on our treatment of Quakers in certain trades:

"What a world is this! how doth the devil garnish himself! and how obedient are people to do his will and mind! They are altogether so carried away with fooleries and vanities, both men and women, that they have lost the hidden man of the heart, and the meek and quiet spirit, which with the Lord is of great price. They have lost the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and gay apparel; women plaiting the hair, men and women powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal. They look strange, that they can scarce look at one another, they are so lifted up in pride. Pride is flown up into their head, and hath so lifted them up, that

they snuff up like wild asses; like Ephraim, they feed upon the mountains. Pride hath puffed up every one of them: they are out of the fear of God, men and women, young and old; one puffs up another. They must be in the fashion of the world, else they are not in esteem; else they shall not be respected, if they have not gold or silver upon their backs, or if the hair be not powdered. But if he have store of ribands hanging about his waist, and at his knees, and in his hat, of divers colours, red, white, black, or yellow, and his hair be powdered, then he is a brave man. . . .

“Likewise the women having their gold, their patches on their faces, noses, cheeks, foreheads; having their cuffs double, under and above, like unto a butcher with his white sleeves; having their ribands tied about their hands, and three or four gold laces about their clothes; this is not Quaker, say they. This attire pleaseth the world: and if they cannot get those things, they are discontented.” Such seventeenth-century Jezebels are indeed different from the modest and simple Sarahs and the honorable women whom St. Paul commended. When Fox comes to speak of styles of his day with bare bosoms and bare backs, it may be imagined that his shafts of satire do not fall short.

The connection of such tirades with our present subject is the effect they had upon the trades of the Quakers. It must be borne in mind that these people were all converts of the first generation. All of a

sudden they were "called off" from making and selling what they had previously made and sold with impunity. They were no longer spiritually of the world in which they lived and moved. They had been bought with a price and had a new conscience of a new kind, illumined by the Inner Light, sensitive to evil. In response to the recommendations of the Society, members of certain trades, such as shoemakers, tailors and clothiers, met from time to time to consider their faithfulness in adhering to the moderation and sobriety to which they were called. One such meeting in 1673 mentioned by Isabel Grubb² was composed of thrifty merchants, clothiers and tailors. In their own words they decided "it is comely and according to truth and truth-like for Friends to wear plain apparel, and to make plain stuffs, and to sell plain things, and for tailors to make clothes plain . . . And that if any Friends do for truth's sake lay aside and deny themselves of the profit of what they might expect to get by figured and striped things, we believe they will not lose their reward. And Friends would do well to encourage Friends of that trade that cannot answer the world's fashions." We have sympathy with this modest reminder to patronize one's brethren.

Buying and Selling

Converted buyers as well as sellers must have had their temptations to put down. If it cost no money,

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

it cost some sacrifice in self-respect for young John Eliot in 1757 to become a "plain" Friend. "I can assure thee, grandfather," he says, "that unless my present and everlasting peace had not been so nearly concerned, and I may say dependent on my obedience to this discovery of duty, I had never submitted my will to become a fool among men and be the jest of those who before thought well of me; especially at a time when I had expectations of making a figure in life in an eminent and honourable branch of business. Yet even this, with the friendship of so many gentlemen of fortune, I am willing to give up, if I can't enjoy it without betraying the cause of truth."

Another example of a tender conscience is recorded by a Swiss traveller, César de Saussure, who wrote from London in 1727: "All Quakers are merchants, and they never charge more for their goods than they are worth. One day a young dandy, desirous of purchasing cloth for a coat, went into a Quaker's shop in London, and, seeing some cloth that suited his taste, he commenced haggling over the price of the merchandise. Finding that the Quaker would take nothing off the price of this article, the young man swore with an oath that he would not buy it at the price. At this the tradesman without a word folded up the cloth and put it away. The dandy proceeded to try various shops, but finding no cloth to suit him as well, either for price, colour, or quality, as what he had first seen, he returned and asked for the cloth. The Quaker answered quietly, 'Friend, thou didst swear thou

wouldst not purchase my cloth at the price; as I can take nothing off, I cannot sell it thee, else I should be guilty of making thee swear a false oath. Go and buy thy cloth elsewhere.' ”³

One thinks also of John Woolman's conscience: it prompted him to travel to Europe in the “stearage” because the cabin offered too much unnecessary luxury; it kept him out of post-chaises in England because of the hardships to which the post-boys were exposed. William Allen drank his tea for over forty years without sugar which was the product of slave labor. Many Quaker ministers travelling on gospel missions have refused to benefit in modern times by the reduced rates offered to the clergy. Friends in ancient times refused to travel on a ship which carried cannon for protection, and Stephen Grellet felt constrained to decline the courteous invitation of Sir Thomas Maitland in 1819 to transport him on a warship from Corfu to Malta. George Fox, when in prison, would not accept a pardon from the king, but insisted upon being tried on the indictment of which he knew he was innocent. For centuries Quaker firms have felt obliged to refuse orders which were even remotely connected with preparations for war, and this greatly to their financial loss.

And so through the years one comes constantly in the reading of journals upon examples of such a tender conscience in the Quakers as will appear like

³ *A Foreign View of England in the Reign of George i and George ii*, N. Y. and London, 1902, pp. 324-325.

foolishness to some. But it would not be amiss today if we had a little more of the kind of backbone which would stiffen more often to say "no."

Despite all the handicaps to which the Quakers were subject, they flourished in business. The maintenance of a fair fixed price, though not original with them, was adhered to by them with a consistency which won much favor. Even a child could be sent to the neighborhood shop and buy what was required without being imposed upon. A dignified, but not subservient, courtesy was the rule in Quaker shops. Miss A. Ruth Fry ⁴ quotes the story of Thomas Grubb, an Irish Quaker, and his treatment of an annoying customer. Many a saleswoman in our department stores must have had experience with such inconsiderate customers. This is "the story of a young man having made a bet that he would ruffle the Quaker's temper. We can picture the scene, the young man asking to see roll after roll of heavy cloth and examining them at endless length, and the old man patiently following his every whim. Then at last the young man orders a piece of stuff the size of a penny. His feelings are not recorded, on receiving the purchase from Thomas Grubb neatly wrapped up, with the remark, 'Thank thee, Friend, and next time thee calls, I hope thy order will be for a larger amount.'"

The popular idea of "the honest Quaker" developed in this country through the later centuries

⁴ *The Quakers: Who Are They?*, London, 1937.

and is represented in the familiar advertisement of a popular breakfast food. Many products have made use of the Quaker name to instill confidence in the mind of their patrons. The Friends have been long-suffering in this travesty of their Society. But when "Old Quaker Whiskey" was recently put on the market, they entered a protest.

The combination of Quaker meetings and markets produced a better balance in character than markets without meetings. The Quakers for many years have been practical as well as mystical. They know values and understand equities. The English wit who asserted that the stillness in a London meeting for worship was so intense that you could have heard a drop of one-eighth in the price of consols, would arouse the "risibles" of any normal Friend.

During its early years the Society, through writing and preaching, constantly expressed its concern for certain aspects of its community life. First, its insistence that all its members should be faithful in attendance at meetings for worship, in order that, on those vital occasions, strength and guidance might be sought for the affairs of life. This insistence included all sorts of employees, even apprentices and house-maids, for whom freedom to attend meetings was earnestly sought from employers. The early Friends knew what we sometimes fail to realize today, that the point of departure for all Quaker action is found in the meeting for worship, and that without the opportunities afforded by these meet-

ings, the work of the Society, however admirable, will fold up. The radiators will eventually get cold, if there is no fire in the furnace. Second, the obligation of those making the Quaker profession to present to other Christians an example of those moral virtues to which reference has been made. Third, the physical care for members who are in distress through persecution for their faithfulness. Under these three aspects it is easy to see, working out in the daily life of Friends, the essential spiritual principle of obedience to the Inner Light. This principle thus becomes what few other denominational principles have succeeded in becoming, a practical guide affecting the entire life of the Quaker. It is what is meant by the term earlier used, when we said that the Quakers are "practical mystics."

The spread of the responsibility for others is particularly interesting. Very early in his career George Fox pleaded at Mansfield in favor of fair wages for workers, and fair work done in return for employers. Care was enjoined upon merchants who sent goods by sea not to entrust too precious a cargo in one bottom and thus incur undue risk for themselves and the fortune of others. Sea captains, of whom not a few were Quakers sailing out of such Quaker ports as Bristol, London, Philadelphia, New Bedford and Nantucket, left their crews in no doubt that there was to be no cursing indulged in upon their ships. There was to be no traffic by Friends in smuggled goods, of which there was much in England at cer-

tain times. Funds were raised through the Monthly Meetings for all sorts of charitable objects, such as the training of apprentices, the schooling of the poor, the ransom of Friends held by Barbary pirates, the support of itinerant ministers when engaged in the ministry. It is evident that, at the outset, Quakerism was a pervading faith which left no side of life untouched.

It is natural that, out of the Society's interest in the poor and handicapped population in England, there should come a more ambitious plan for aid. As early as 1695, John Bellers (1654-1725) of London published his *Proposals for Raising a College of Industry, of all useful Trades and Husbandry with Profit for the rich—a Plentiful Living for the Poor—and a good Education for Youth*. As an outcome of this plan the Friends maintained for some years at Clerkenwell a work-house, and another at Bristol which was more successful. As Paul H. Emden points out, what is more significant is the fact that here for the first time an intelligent and well-to-do Quaker outlined a plan for social relief in which men and not mere goods were regarded as a nation's wealth. His thought ranges over a wide field of reform and touches the distribution of wealth, agriculture, education, medicine, prisons and methods of parliamentary elections. Bellers believed that an industrial community could be self-supporting and profitable. For him the production of necessities by home industries was more important than the

multiplication of luxuries. His wide range of speculation covered nearly all the reforms needed in England at the end of the seventeenth century, and his writings have aroused the interest of much more recent economists and sociologists.

So far we have been looking at small details of the all-embracing Quaker programme of applied religion. Individual faithfulness, sometimes under great difficulties, has been emphasized. As we sweep down through the eighteenth century, we shall encounter the Industrial Revolution with its initiation of the Machine Age and, on the other hand, the evangelical movement which provided England with a new conscience expressing itself in organized philanthropy. As the distress increases, the means for meeting it must be developed.

To a singular degree the Quakers were ready for the Industrial Revolution with its new requirements for capital. Quaker thrift and intermarriage in substantial families had laid up capital which was prepared to finance new enterprises. Here the reader must be referred to the engrossing story which Paul H. Emden has told in his *Quakers in Commerce*. We have now reached what Mr. Emden calls the Iron Age. New topics begin to appear in his presentation: iron-founding, brass works, coal furnaces in the hands of the Darby dynasty; Huntsman's discovery of the crucible process for the making of the steel required for his watch-springs and pendulums is part of the story of Sheffield as the steel center;

the Pease family as combers, wool buyers and weavers of cloth had become enriched at Darlington and later engaged in extensive banking enterprises in Durham and Yorkshire; the ceramic arts were developed by Quakers at Plymouth early in the eighteenth century. Early in the nineteenth century the first road laid upon rails was promoted and financed at Darlington by the Pease family and their wealthy associates. Stephenson had the satisfaction of driving the engine of the Quaker Line on September 27, 1825, over the twelve miles to Stockton in three hours and seventeen minutes.

In the last century also we learn that George Bradshaw of the famous Railway Guide, was a Friend. As bankers and members of Parliament in more recent times the Pease family continued a long and honorable career. Then there were corn merchants like Joseph Sturge at Birmingham, and cotton manufacturers like John Bright at Rochdale; the Gurney family of bankers at Norwich; a silk manufacturer in London, Job Allen, was the father of William Allen the Quaker scientist, drug manufacturer, philanthropist, minister and companion of Stephen Grellet. Then with Mr. Emden we must add mention of the Barclays, brewers and bankers; Christys the hatters; Bryant and May of wax vesta fame; Price, Waterhouse & Co. the accountants; John Bellows, whose dictionaries so many of us have used; the Clark family of Street, manufacturers of rubber goods and sheepskin articles; Hunt-

ley and Palmer, the Reading biscuit makers; James Reckitt of Hull, laundry "blue" manufacturer; Hornimans the tea dealers; and, the best known of all in America, the chocolate dynasties represented by the names of Cadbury, Fry and Rowntree. All these firms, whose names have become known throughout the British Empire, were founded and long maintained by Quaker families. In the course of many years some firms have merged, changed their names or even their religious affiliation. But the showing is impressive as revealing the capacity of middle-class British Quakers to devise processes and finance manufacturers out of their own membership and without deserting the principles of business and trade for which they stood.

America has failed to produce many Quaker firms of such world-wide fame as some of those mentioned above. But at least nationally known are some of the Quaker merchants, iron, glass and instrument makers, flower-raisers, hotel men, bankers, insurance and trust company executives who have maintained over a long period of years a reputation for honest dealing with their clients and of fair dealing with their employees.

Employers and Employees

We may turn now to some of the methods employed by Friends to express their concern for social welfare, especially the welfare of their employees

for whom they felt a special responsibility. It appears that the fraternal relation existing within the Meeting between employer and employee in the early days of the Society carried over into a pronounced sympathy between Quaker capitalists and the working class when propinquity in the meeting for worship no longer existed. This sympathy expressed itself in many ways. T. S. Ashton, in his *Iron and Steel in the Industrial Revolution*,⁵ says that by the Quaker firm of iron-masters established by the Crowley family, "arbitration courts consisting of nominees of the firm and of the workers were set up to enquire into grievances; and contracts made between the master workmen and their hammermen were drawn up in these courts. Very early in the eighteenth century a system of contributory insurance against death, sickness, and old age was compulsory on all workers; and a doctor, a clergyman, and a schoolmaster were maintained jointly by the firm and its employees." The same author asserts that "the more important chapters in the early history of the iron industry might have been written almost without passing beyond the bounds of the Society of Friends."⁶ In another direction toward the end of the century we find the Quaker, Joseph Lancaster, establishing the Lancasterian system of schools for poor children, in which an economical plan of instruction of the less by the more advanced pupils was employed and widely extended.

⁵ Manchester and London, 1924, p. 196.

⁶ P. 213.

William Allen, the scientist and chemist of Plough Court, London, typifies, about 1800, the interest of wealthy and intelligent Quakers in organized philanthropy. He was a remarkable and many-sided man, whose biography is an enlightening document for our present purpose. Every good cause could count upon his enthusiastic support. He espoused the Lancasterian schools, the Bible Society, anti-slavery, an agricultural school at Lindfield, in connection with which he built twenty-five cottages with an appropriate allotment of land. He cooperated with Robert Owen in his manufacturing experiment at Lanark Mills and in addition he was a lecturer at Guy's Hospital and a great travelling minister of the Gospel. He is typical of many other forward-looking Friends in the nineteenth century who felt that nothing concerning human welfare was foreign to their responsibility. It was at this time, early in the last century, that we find the Tukes at York treating the insane for the first time as human beings rather than as criminals—a service which four generations of that family have continued with distinction. From 1812 dates the concern of Friends for the reform of penal laws and of prisons—in which the name of Elizabeth Fry stands preëminent—which in America resulted in the Philadelphia jail with its private cell system. With Wilberforce, Clarkson and many others, the Friends collaborated in the suppression of the slave trade and later of slavery in the British dominions. They supported

Bible schools and Adult schools, and woke up the British nation from its lethargy to the importance of social reform.

The chocolate "bloc," formed by the Frys, Cadburys and Rowntrees, however, has in recent times been in a position to carry out this social philosophy on a large and impressive scale. The Frys, with the welfare of their employees in mind, moved their works from Bristol to Somerdale and there in 1922 continued an industry which had been in the family for one hundred and fifty years. Located in a village, this establishment is described as "having healthy, bright, and well-lighted factories, and every possible facility, including medical and dental services."

After discouraging beginnings, the Cadburys stepped out into prominence seventy-five years ago with a greatly improved cocoa product called Cadbury's Cocoa Essence. As the business and number of employees increased, George Cadbury executed a novel and daring idea in 1893 by the foundation of "a factory in a garden." Already familiar with the working class through his association with the Adult schools of which another Quaker, Joseph Sturge, had been the sponsor in Birmingham, George Cadbury, with his brother Richard, now made a practical application of his philosophy. "We consider," he said, "that our people spend the greater part of their lives at their work, and we wish to make it less irksome by environing them with pleasant

and wholesome sights, sounds and conditions." Anyone who has visited Bournville, the name of this garden village, can vouch for the success of the community planned by the Cadburys. The houses, built in this development adjacent to the works, are not occupied by the employees of the company only, but also by representatives of many other classes and occupations. The Bournville Village Trust, which is now the independent owner of this village, insures the preservation of much open space and favorable suburban conditions for residence. Bournville is a model garden suburb and has set an example for many similar developments in town-planning and housing since the World War.

Similar in many respects is the record of Rowntrees since the manufacture of cocoa products was begun under this name in 1862. This company has its headquarters in York, England. Joseph Rowntree, who was head of the firm for half a century prior to his death in 1925, played an important part in the life of the old cathedral city. Our interest, however, is in the establishment of a model village for the company's employees together with a modern factory at New Earswick. Refusing to regard his workers "merely as cogs in an industrial machine, but rather as fellow workers in a great industry," Rowntree's policy included all the provisions for wages, living conditions, economic security, profit sharing, and old age pensions which the most modern experience has approved. This remarkable

man, able financially to give reality to his philanthropy, concerned himself with education, the Adult School Movement, temperance, international peace, the creation of public parks. His enduring contribution was provision, through the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and his Social Service Trust, for the continued study of the causes of poverty, depressions, and irregularity of employment, to the end that these impediments to human happiness might be done away with. Joseph is only one of several members of this distinguished family who have translated their Quaker faith into practical social expression. Out of the experience of the Rowntree firm there came in 1921 from B. Seeborn Rowntree, one of its members, a book with a characteristic Quaker title: *The Human Factor in Business*.

British Friends have led the way in our examination of Quakerism from the beginning to the present time. They have been both more united in their observance of the essential principles of the Society and more ready to take up new methods of expressing these principles under changing political, social and economic conditions. On the whole, they have been better educated than American Friends, more sensitive to need, and more gifted in their expression of truth. They have produced more great figures in the history of the Society, examples of powerful personalities carrying over their religious convictions into the social and industrial arena. Intelligence, wealth and far-reaching love of humanity

have distinguished them among the international brotherhood of Quakerism. The first to arrive at organization and to incorporate the principles of the Society in response to human needs, they still lead the best thought of the Friends by sheer faithfulness in spite of numerical inferiority. The British Empire has given to British Friends a breadth of view and a catholicity of sympathy for mankind which has not been reached elsewhere.

The Society of Friends in America has been more provincial than in England. It has too often been comparatively uneducated, narrow, and concerned with petty differences of faith. Its lack of great characters in its history, its lack of competent interpreters of its principles, have prevented it from exercising the influence it might have had on a new civilization.

But American Quakerism has had its part to play. It has had some outstanding figures, it has had its open-hearted, generous moments of altruism, it has had energy and initiative in these latter days, and it has been willing to learn from the examples of some gifted exponents of Quakerism in England. We shall see a little later that American Friends, through their Service Committee, have done one job well, and have rolled their ball straight down the alley of the best Quaker tradition.

In their concern for the present social order, which occupies us in this chapter, American Friends have been aroused from apathy. They are pulling to-

gether. Between the suppression of slavery in the Southern States and the inauguration of international relief, there has been room for the study of race relations, which in America means the problem posed by the Negro population, of housing, of labor conditions, and of industrial strife. There are Quaker employers in America, too, who have taken very seriously their responsibility to their employees. They have not been in a position, through large combinations of capital in a business of international scope, to build model towns. But they have introduced the most modern methods in their factories, they have introduced every personal service for the physical welfare of their employees, and have associated them as share-holders in the active management and control of the business. They don't have strikes. One Friend who heads a manufacturing company with one thousand employees holds that "a business organization should be a unified group of people banded together to earn a living for its members, seeking to do justice among all of them and to the rest of the world." He strives to secure "an equal chance for each to rise to that level of reward and power for which he is qualified," and this means everyone from the executive officers to the latest apprentice.

In many Meetings there are committees or classes for the study of local social problems, such as the relations with domestic servants, with institutional employees, with industrial workers, slum clearance,

adult classes, social settlements and the Negro population. The *Advices* and *Queries* have already shown the universal feeling of responsibility among Friends for the social and economic welfare of those who live next door. The large number of Friends who are associated in the management of educational, charitable, financial and industrial institutions, extend their influence much further than if they were functioning as individuals only. Even where no inclusive policy has been adopted toward all employees, it is a common experience to hear in board meetings an expression of employer responsibility in some needy case. Friends are not accustomed to let down any faithful employee who has been overcome by age or misfortune.

In conclusion, we have remarked a very sustained intention among Friends to carry into their business relations with others their central idea of the unity of creation. To men everywhere the Golden Rule has become an individual guide. To this guide for individual conscience the Friends have added an authentic social tradition which has made of their Society the first agency to which many turn for help and inspiration. As a Swedish observer has put it: "The community of the Friends was an attempt to find a synthetic solution of the double demand of personality and community."⁷ Quaker mysticism is social as well as practical.

⁷ Emilia Fogelklou, *James Nayler*, London, 1931, p. 36.

CHAPTER VII

RACE RELATIONS

WE MUST now follow the Quakers farther afield in pursuit of their duty to their fellow-men who have some of the light of God in their hearts. The mission work of the Quakers outside of the British Empire and the United States will be referred to a little later. Just now we are thinking of the responsibility they have assumed in history for the welfare of the Indians and Negroes. How to deal with the Indians in the British colonies in North America was a problem from the beginnings of the Society; how to deal with African slaves and in later times with the Negro freedman soon became a problem.

Race Relations with Indians

The early treatment of the Indians in the British colonies is familiar to every school-boy. The wars and bloody forays, when cruel vengeance was taken by both sides, were the natural results of a policy which was the reverse of salutary or humane. It is sometimes said that William Penn was the first to purchase lands from the Indians. This is not true. Others had done so, and the Bishop of London urged

Penn to treat the native occupants in this just manner. Penn did so; but he did something more which was more original. He approached them both in advance messages and later in person as a friend. No one could have foreseen at the time the future history of the whites in America. Penn's attitude toward the natives was predicated upon the occupation of a territory granted to him as Proprietor by the British King in discharge of a debt owing to his father, Admiral Sir William Penn. It was the Proprietor's contribution to the development of good race relations that he wished his own people to live in peace and equality with the Indians, to exercise justice toward them, and to arbitrate any question of right which might arise. When we add to this, the firm determination not to spoil or ruin them by plying them with liquor, we have the novelty in Penn's approach to the inhabitants of the new lands in the western world.

In his letter of 1681 sent to Pennsylvania by his commissioners, Penn places his future relations with the Indians on a firm religious basis. His profession of Quakerism in England would have been worth little in his own eyes, had he not carried it over into his approach to the natives as forecast in the following letter:

"My Friends, there is one great God and power that hath made the world and all things therein, to which you, and I, and all people owe their being and

well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

“This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world, and the King of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein; but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbors and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of justice and goodness unto you. This I hear hath been a trouble to you, and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood, which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing they shall

offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of those matters. In the meantime I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably and friendly with you. I am your loving friend

“WILLIAM PENN.”

Amongst other instructions, given the same year to the three commissioners themselves, we find these two paragraphs touching the Indians:

“Be tender of offending the Indians, and hearken by honest spies, if you can hear that any body inveigles them not to sell, or to stand off, and raise the value upon you. You cannot want (i.e., lack) those that will inform you; but to soften them to me, and the people, let them know that you are come to sit down lovingly among them. Let my letter and conditions with my purchasers about just dealing with them, be read in their tongue, that they may see we

have their good in our eye, equal with our own interest, and after reading my letter and the said conditions, then present their Kings with what I send them, and make a friendship and league with them, according to those conditions, which carefully observe, and get them to comply with. Be grave; they love not to be smiled on.

"From time to time, in my name, and for my use, buy land of them, where any justly pretend, for they will sell one another's if you be not careful; that so, such as buy and come after these adventurers, may have land ready, but by no means sell any land till I come."

No more should be claimed for Penn's attitude than the best ethical standards of the time warrant. He felt that the British King had the right to give him the land, and he wished to make a modest profit on it by selling it to his colonists. But he wished also to compensate the natives for taking their land, and to apply in his relations with them the principles of good will and friendship for which his profession stood. It should be noted also that he declined an offer of six thousand pounds from a company for a monopoly of the Indian trade between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers, being unwilling "to defile what came to me clean." He continues this subject in his letter to Robert Turner in 1681: "Let the Lord guide me by his wisdom, and preserve me to honor his name and serve his truth and people, that

an example may be set up to the nations; there may be room there, though none here."

The last phrase reminds us of Penn's constant hope that he might create such a theocratic democracy in Pennsylvania as the world had never seen and which it was hopeless to expect in Europe as it then was. Lest any reader should have a memory of the iniquitous "walking purchase," it should be stated that this took place long after William Penn's death, and was the work of his Anglican son Thomas, then Proprietor.

The question of supplying the Indians with liquor, which has proved to be so momentous throughout the relations of the whites and Indians, very early claimed Penn's attention. He knew what havoc had been wrought in some other colonies by the practice of plying the Indians with liquor. In 1682, before sailing himself, he wrote to them through his Surveyor-General Thomas Holme, "nor will I ever allow any of my people to sell rum, to make your people drunk." Despite Penn's intention, the inrush of Germans and Scotch-Irish, who coveted the fertile Indian lands west of the first settlements, made the liquor legislation ineffective. The Indians themselves complained of the damage resulting to them from an evil to which they were early introduced and which has proved fatal to their best interests. Liquor and the diseases of the white man, starvation and war, rapidly reduced the Indian population in touch with Europeans. The concern for their wel-

fare, manifested by Penn, is one of the redeeming features of their treatment during the colonial period. The peaceful and friendly relations of mutual trust, which prevailed for more than fifty years after Penn's landing, offer a contrast to the disillusion, the resentment and the final retaliation of the Indians after the middle of the eighteenth century. They were then ready to fall into the arms of the French and to fight the British in the French and Indian war.

Both before and after Penn's arrival in Pennsylvania, we have instances of Quakers preaching the Gospel message through interpreters to Indian tribes. From his own record we know of Josiah Coale in New England in 1658, both at Nantucket and near Plymouth. Of the Indians' kindness to him and his companion he wrote: "I do confess this to be the Lord's hand of love towards me; through the goodness of the Lord we found these Indians more sober and Christian-like towards us than the Christians so-called." In 1659 John Taylor of York, England, visited the Indians on Long Island and "had an opportunity to declare the Truth to them, and to turn them from Darkness to the Light of Christ Jesus, *in their own hearts*, which would teach them, and give them the knowledge of God that made them." He reports, as do others, that "they were loving and kind to Friends." To George Fox in 1672 "they carried themselves very courteously and lovingly." When John Richardson, about 1701, after speaking

to them of God and His love, asked the interpreter what they said in reply, "He told me they said all that I had delivered to them was good, and except the Great Man had sent me, I could not have told them those things. I desired the interpreter to ask them how they *knew* what I said to them was good. They replied and smote their hands on their hearts, the Good Man here (meaning in their hearts) told them what I said was all good. They manifested much love to me in their way, and I believe the love of God is to them and all people in the day of their visitation."

In 1699 Thomas Story stopped in New England one day to converse with an Indian woman, who was spinning, "of the witness of God in her, which discovered to her Good and Evil, that dictates the former, and reproves the latter. To which she confessed, and said with tears in her eyes, that she knew better than she practiced, and was very humble."

Here we have the historical belief that God can speak to the hearts of all men through human instruments. The Quakers have trusted to the validity of this belief in all their relations with the objects of their concern, whether Indians, Negroes, or European sovereigns. Perfect, unarmed, but disarming confidence in the appeal to that of God in every man has produced good will as nothing else could do.

It was plain love of mankind that sent John Woolman on his famous visit to the Indians at Wyalusing, Pennsylvania, in 1763, and two other Friends from

Philadelphia who travelled in 1773 to visit the Delawares in Ohio. Woolman's exercise of mind was "that we might be obedient to the Lord while in tender mercy He is yet calling to us, and that we might so attend to pure universal righteousness as to give no just cause of offence to the Gentiles who do not confess Christianity, whether they be blacks from Africa, or the native inhabitants of this continent."

R. W. Kelsey ¹ names a score of prominent Friends who visited and preached the Gospel to the Indians between the arrival of the first Quakers and the end of the eighteenth century. Though no permanent Meetings were as yet set up among the Indians, there were many religious opportunities taken to worship with them after the manner of Friends. These temporary preaching missions, undertaken as the result of the concern of individual Friends, continued until the end of the eighteenth century, when the Society as a whole became alive to the situation of the retreating Indians as a practical problem. The time for preaching gave way to action one hundred and fifty years ago.

Action grew out of sympathy and a desire that justice be done to the earlier inhabitants of the country. Already delegations of Friends had attended Peace Councils between the Six Nations of Iroquois in southwestern New York and the United States Government. The attendance of Friends as

¹ *Friends and the Indians*, Philadelphia, 1917.

advisors in these councils was solicited by the Indians themselves who had in mind the ancient friendship and good will existing between their forefathers and the Friends. The Friends reported back to the Philadelphia Meeting for Sufferings that "their present situation appears loudly to claim the sympathy and attention of our religious Society and others who have grown numerous and opulent on the former inheritance of these poor declining people; we cannot but believe that some mode may be fallen upon of rendering them more essential service than has yet been adopted." This concern led to the appointment, in 1795, of a large Indian Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, and from that time to the present the report of this committee has a place yearly in the agenda of that Meeting. The situation of the nation's capital in Philadelphia made it possible for the Friends in that city to maintain a close watch on legislation and also to meet with Indians who came to deal officially with the national government.

Ably seconded by British Friends, the work of all sections of American Quakerism for the Indians is too long a story to tell here. A few very general remarks must suffice; for our present purpose is simply to trace in this particular field the passage from faith to works. The love and sympathy of the early period were expressed in words; the same sentiments will henceforth be expressed also in works. The missions and schools that were founded in the Indian

country through the nineteenth century were the agencies through which the Quaker responsibility was expressed. By this time all the principal religious denominations were awake to the religious welfare of the Indians. The fact that the seriousness of the conversion of thousands of Indians to Christianity, reported through these agencies, is open to question, does not destroy our respect for the effort that was made to repair the damage done to the natives by the waves of whites who swept them ever farther west and appropriated their hunting-grounds. The Quakers, too, set up several Meetings in the territory that was assigned to them, and several hundred Indians joined the Society.

In a changing situation and population the missionary effort had to follow the Indians. The Quakers even established a mission in Alaska. Only at Tunessassa in New York, however, has there been a school and mission continuously for nearly a century and a half. In other places, where there were missions under the care of other Yearly Meetings, the work successively progressed and declined, dependent upon the government attitude, Indian wars, shifts in population, and later the introduction of public schools. In general, the Quaker work centered on domestic economy for the girls, and on carpentry and farm-training for the boys. The writer remembers that one of his relatives kept for many years a succession of Indian girls as house-servants, treating them as members of the family and training

them in household arts. One of the liberal Yearly Meetings specifically confined its efforts to civilizing the Indians, addressing them thus in 1849: "With your religious concerns we have studiously avoided to interfere, not because we have deemed Religion as an unimportant subject, but because we have not been called upon by our position or sent among you to teach it—and because we most assuredly believe that if you faithfully conform to the Will of God, so far as He is pleased to make it known to you, it will place you in the best state for the attainment of religious knowledge. It will teach you to be *practical* Christians. . . . It is not the extent of our theological instruction, but our fidelity in the performance of *manifest* duty, that is the measure of our acceptance in the Divine Sight."

Touching, indeed, is the address made by the Indians in 1849 to the liberal Friends who withdrew at that time from one of their practical missions in New York State: "More than fifty winters have gone by since the Iroquois, or 'the Six Nations of Indians,' first selected the Ho-di-wi-yus-doh (Society of Friends) as *their* friends upon whom they could repose confidence, without fear of being betrayed. . . . We have, as associates, passed through many dangers, and several trials and hardships. In all these you have ever stood by us and been our support—have counseled us in our troubles—consolated us in our misfortunes—strengthened us when feeble, and often relieved our necessities. . . . We hope that

you may teach your children to love and pity the red man, so that when the Master of Life and Light shall call you hence, your red brothers may still have friends like you, and the good understanding now existing between us, be forever perpetuated and cherished between your posterity and ours." To have evoked such sentiments in a time when many regarded a dead Indian as the only good Indian is a tribute to those who labored in this field.

On several occasions Friends were selected by the Government to represent it in peace treaties with western tribes. In 1867 a Washington newspaper seriously suggested that the record of the Quakers with the Indians was such that it would be well if they were charged with the "subject of colonizing the Indian territory, and instructing the Indians." In 1869 President-elect Grant formally requested lists of Friends suitable for appointment as Indian agents. This inaugurated Grant's Peace Policy which continued in force until 1885. Under this policy the management of certain Indian reservations was given to Friends, and the burden of selecting its own agents was assumed by the Society itself. Grant said in his first annual message to Congress: "The result has proven most satisfactory."

In 1869 the Indian Aid Association was formed in Philadelphia and together with the Associated Executive Committee of Friends, representing most of the Yearly Meetings, has promoted intelligent interest in the nation's Indian wards. Circumstances

have greatly altered during the last half century. Different Presidents and succeeding Indian Commissioners have shifted in their treatment of the Indians; but by appointment of President Hoover two Philadelphia Friends long interested in the problem became Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner respectively. They showed what could be done in the interests of justice, education and civilizing influences. Religious missions still continue, the Quakers centering their work in Oklahoma. Registering a slight increase in recent years, the Indians are now treated as citizens, are educated in the public schools, have renounced in many places their native habits, and some have grown rich on oil royalties. Amid painful records of injustice on the part of the white man, the history of Quakers and Indians extending over nearly three hundred years constitutes a moving tribute to the relations of two friendly peoples.

Race Relations with Negroes

The second point at which Friends met the problem of race relations is involved in their attitude toward Negroes, first as slaves, and later as a growing element in the free population of the United States. England in the time of George Fox knew little at first hand of Negro slavery. There were of course no slaves in England nor in the parts of Europe most familiar to Englishmen. Before 1650

the English had no occasion to observe the evils and injustice of human slavery. It is our purpose to follow the development of the Quaker conscience, first toward slavery, and later toward the underprivileged freedmen of the United States.

The first significant contact of Friends with slavery is found in George Fox's *Journal* while he was in the Barbadoes in 1671. Speaking to the Friends there, he records: "Then as to their blacks or negroes, I desired them to endeavour to train them up in the fear of God, those that were bought, and those born in their families, that all might come to the knowledge of the Lord. . . . I desired them also that they would cause their overseers to deal mildly and gently with their negroes, and not use cruelty towards them, as the manner of some hath been and is; and that after certain years of servitude, they would make them free." Here we have an acceptance of the institution of slavery, to the iniquity of which the conscience of Friends had not yet been aroused. Starting with this injunction to train them in the fear of God and to use kindness in the treatment of slaves, we can follow in the next century the development of a strong Quaker protest against the entire institution and all its works.

As their familiarity with slavery grew, through their intercourse with the British colonies, the horror of Friends increased apace, and protests began to appear in Meeting records, first against any participation of members in the slave-trade and its cruel

accompaniments, and later against the institution, wherever existing. It was not, however, until 1727 that London Yearly Meeting resolved "that the importing of Negroes from their native country is not a commendable or allowable practice, and is therefore censured by this meeting." In 1758 Friends were warned to have nothing to do with the unrighteous profits arising from the slave-trade, and in 1761 anyone persisting in the trade was to be disowned.

Clarkson in his *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* pays to the Quakers "a due tribute of respect for the proper estimation in which they have uniformly held the miserable outcasts of society." And he adds: "By the Friends we have seen them uniformly represented as persons 'ransomed by one and the same Saviour,' 'as visited by one and the same light for salvation' and 'as made equally for immortality as others.'" It was thus through the same little crack of Light that there entered into the Quaker conscience an active tolerance for the blacks as men and brethren. On this subject of tolerance Professor A. N. Whitehead has recently said: "The apostles of modern tolerance—in so far as it exists—are Erasmus, the Quakers, and John Locke. They should be commemorated in every laboratory, in every church, and in every court of law."²

But though the eventual triumph of anti-slavery legislation in England antedated its suppression in America, it was at Germantown, Philadelphia, that

² *Adventures of Ideas*, N. Y., 1913, p. 63.

the first formal Quaker protest against slavery was addressed to a near-by Monthly Meeting in 1688 by four "German Friends" whose names should be held in lasting honor: Garret Hendericks, Derick up de Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius, Abraham up Den Graef. The protest, which is a precious historical document as an anti-slavery "first," is made upon humanitarian and religious grounds, as well as on the basis of setting an example and of allaying the dismay of intending colonists in Europe. After alluding to the breaking of the Golden Rule, the encouragement of adultery, the cruelty of treatment, the danger of slave uprisings, involved in the institution, we come to this telling argument: "Europeans are desirous to know in what manner the Quakers do rule in this province;—and most of them do look upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evil?" The letter then says very tactfully that the signatory Friends desire information on this subject, so that they may know and tell others what the decision of the Meeting may be. The Monthly Meeting declined to be put "on the spot" by this shrewd inquiry and referred the letter to the Quarterly Meeting, which in turn referred it to the Yearly Meeting. The latter was not yet sensitive to the moral issues involved and "minuted": "A paper being here presented by some German Friends concerning the lawfulness and unlawfulness of buying and keeping Negroes, it was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a

positive judgment in the case, it having so general a relation to many other parts, and therefore at present they forbear it." This decision indicates a side-step which is instructive in the corporate treatment of a subject for which the membership was not yet ready.

No more is called for here than a mere indication of the part of the Quakers in the suppression of one of the greatest and most stubborn curses of humanity: slavery and the slave-trade. Among Friends in America the earliest corporate concern was for the spiritual welfare of the Negroes, and at the very beginning of the eighteenth century Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, upon Penn's suggestion, concluded to appoint a meeting for worship for Negroes, to be held once a month, at which their masters should also be present as frequently as possible. William Penn himself in a will of 1701 "gave my blacks their freedom." The eighteenth century saw great progress in popular resentment against this institution, both in England and in other European countries, as well as in the American colonies. The Quakers, as we have seen, were the first in England to take united and practical action. Meanwhile the sentiment was strengthening in Pennsylvania under the leadership of John Woolman (1720-1773), close by in New Jersey, and Anthony Benezet (1713-1784) in Philadelphia. John Woolman's conscience was awakened suddenly but permanently in 1742 when in the act of preparing a bill of sale for a Negro woman in New

Jersey. Two years later he published *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*. Anthony Benezet was a leader in the crusade for over thirty years. In 1754 he repeated the same arguments and appeals as those used by the four German Friends in 1688: "To live in ease and plenty by the toil of those whom violence and cruelty have put in our power, is neither consistent with Christianity nor common justice. . . . How can we, who have been concerned to publish the Gospel of universal love and peace among mankind, be so inconsistent with ourselves as to purchase such who are prisoners of war, and thereby encourage this unchristian practice?"

In 1766 this doughty champion published *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies*, in which he protested that slavery "is inconsistent with the plainest precepts of the Gospel, the dictates of reason, and every common sentiment of humanity." This booklet was followed by another in 1772, entitled *Some Historical Account of Guinea*. Through those books and his private correspondence Benezet had a great part in the contemporary progress of anti-slavery sentiment in England. He exemplifies what may be accomplished by conviction and pertinacity in a good cause. His success gives us good hope that eventually war may be put down by other men who possess the same qualities and the same arguments.

Continuously agitated in Parliament by associations of fervid enthusiasts, the slave-trade in the

British dominions was terminated in 1811. Succeeding alleviating measures looking to the abolition of slavery itself continued to be passed until the final Act of 1833. In all this long up-hill fight the Friends were closely associated with others of humanitarian sentiments, notably Clarkson, Sharp, Wilberforce, Buxton and Macaulay. It was then that Friend William Allen at last got sugar in his tea after waiting on conscientious grounds over forty years.

Meanwhile in America between 1758 and 1775 the Friends constantly bore witness against such slavery as was still to be found within their own membership. In 1775 action was taken looking toward disownment of those still holding slaves, and by 1781 New Jersey and Pennsylvania Quakers were practically clear of the evil. In 1780 a Pennsylvania Act of Assembly began the gradual abolition of slavery in that State. Anthony Benezet lived to see the triumph of the cause to which he had given thirty years of his life. For twenty years he had conducted in his own house a school for poor colored children.

Between 1780 and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation there was continuous agitation against slavery, the feeling running higher as the clash between the States became imminent. Many Quaker families left Virginia and North Carolina to live on free soil. In the meantime, both East and West, Friends were prominent promoters of the Underground Railway. The names of Whittier and Lucre-

tia Mott are particularly well known as Quakers in the forefront of the anti-slavery battle. But after slavery was abolished by Lincoln, the problem of what to do with the Negroes became serious. Freedmen's associations were formed for their protection, education and training.

From this time on, perhaps no other religious body has been more concerned than the Friends for the welfare of the Negroes. All the Yearly Meetings with a Negro population within their borders testified to this solicitude. Schools were opened, funds were established, and a teaching personnel furnished by members of the Society. The ex-slaves were decidedly on the conscience of Friends, and, though the conditions have changed, they still are. The colored people today constitute for American Friends *the* race-relations problem. Every variety of attitude toward the problem is to be found among Friends. It is considered by meetings, by conferences, and by committees. The manifest inequality existing in the opportunities, educational, social and economic, for white and black citizens is arousing grave concern. Everywhere Friends "are challenging the thesis that the Negro and other minority groups are innately inferior to whites. They are making the connection between economic justice, race oppression, and international peace. And they are seeing to it that constitutional rights, such as freedom of speech and equal opportunities, are not being jeopardized. Where possible they have been conferring with mem-

bers of minority races in an attempt to find, jointly, a fuller and freer life together."

Since the Civil War the number of Negroes has about tripled, and since the World War there has been an important Negro migration into the north where Friends are chiefly located. The race problem in our larger cities is thus brought prominently before the Quakers. Many difficulties exist, and many solutions are proposed by Americans who have addressed themselves to this most difficult of our social problems. But an authoritative statement in 1937 shows the Friends still applying, under present circumstances, the same thorough-going test of love for God's creatures which we have already met so many times: "In our efforts to work for social justice we are driven on by the needs of our times and by a sense of guilt for our shortcomings. We are allured by the desire to share in the fuller life of individuals whose hearts and souls may be united with our own. We are made to realize a new power of persuasion and the efficacy of forbearing love in building bridges of understanding between peoples of varying appearances and cultures. And we are brought into a fuller consciousness of 'that of God in every man' and of our privilege in sharing with others a fuller life in Christian love."

It is evident that the Negroes constitute the chief, but not the only, element in race problems for American Friends. This problem is on their very doorsteps, whereas they are farther removed from the

problems presented by such minorities as the Japanese, the Mexicans or the Filipinos. In England it is different. There the bond of the British Empire associates every conscientious Englishman in the race problems which his government has to face. Racial justice in India, the treatment of Negroes in South Africa, slavery in Arabia and Abyssinia, the evil effects of the opium trade upon the Chinese, concern for the Doukhobors of the Caucasus, 7500 of whom were moved to western Canada in 1899 at the instance of Tolstoi working through the Friends—these are but samples of what British Friends have had to face in the broader world upon which they have been accustomed to look out.

In the fields of what are called “foreign missions,” of an educational, medical and religious character, Friends have borne a share. British Friends have supported work in India, China, Madagascar and Syria, while American Friends have worked in Cuba, Mexico, Japan, China, Palestine and on the continent of Africa.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PEACE TESTIMONY

OF ALL THE Quaker "testimonies," that connected with peace is most definitely associated in the public mind with Friends. In 1853 Richard Cobden wrote to a political friend: "The soul of the peace movement is the Quaker sentiment against all war. Without the stubborn zeal of the Friends, there would be no Peace Society and no Peace Conference." That is still true. The Quakers form again a sort of "holding company" for all those who above everything else today "seek peace and ensue it." How to deal with the greatest curse of humanity is a problem of unique importance. Everyone *ought* to be interested in it; a great many people *are* interested in it. At the same time feeling runs high on the subject, because in times of national emergency any talk of peaceful methods is regarded by many as something approaching treason.

Basis of the Peace Testimony

The Quakers have suffered much obloquy for their leadership in opposition to war as a method of settling disputes. It would seem, to hear some talk,

that war was such a precious institution that nothing must ever be done looking toward the renunciation of it as an instrument of attaining justice by Christian nations. It is not our present purpose to present arguments for or against the Quaker position regarding peace and war. That has been done over and over again. Texts have also been quoted by the defenders of war, imaginary situations have been created, and then the supposedly clinching question is asked "Well, what would you do in that case?" In all such discussions the Quaker-baiter assumes that he is speaking on behalf of an innocent wife and child who are about to be cut down by the remorseless foe, and then the fitness of the question is expected to leave the Quaker prostrate.

We are reminded of a telling episode in the life of Joseph Parker related by Roderic Dunkerley in his pamphlet on *Spiritual Force* (London, 1936). When Parker was once debating with an unbelieving opponent, the latter asked him: "What did your God do for Stephen when he was stoned to death?" And Parker replied: "This is what my God did for Stephen in the hour of his stoning—He enabled him to pray *Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.*" It was a grand answer, and it is strange that all Christians who honor St. Stephen in their parishes do not see the spiritual force released by his death: for instance, one Saul of Tarsus was standing by. But there is no use in arguing on paper about this subject of consuming importance. It is better to set forth as sim-

ply as possible what the Quaker's position is, in the hope that the reasonableness and the ethical strength of his position may appeal to some. Then, besides the validity of the religious and ethical grounds which must be apparent to everyone, there is a philosophy of practical merit involved which may not have occurred to all.

There has been no wavering in the Quaker corporate stand on peace for nearly three hundred years. There has been, to be sure, much variation in the thought and conduct of individual Quakers in that time, and it will be interesting to observe here, as in the treatment of slavery, a gradual growth in the tenderness of the Society's conscience in the application of its peace testimony. But whether or not one entertains any respect for the Quaker position, it is worth while to understand it; for at the present time it offers one of the rare beams of light in the surrounding darkness.

When asked by the commissioners of the Commonwealth in 1650 to take up arms, George Fox says in his *Journal*:¹ "I told them, I knew from whence all wars arose, even from the lust, according to James' doctrine; and that I lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." After a little further conversation, the commissioners' "rage got up, and they said, 'Take him away, jailer, and put him into the dungeon amongst the rogues and felons.' So I was had away, and put into

¹ I:68-69.

a lousy, stinking place, without any bed, amongst thirty felons, where I was left almost half a year, unless it were at times."

There we have, two hundred and ninety years ago, the first Quaker at grips with the mind of officialdom. There have been many similar episodes since, but both sides have made progress since the crude experience of Fox: the Friends have made progress in strengthening their position, and the military agencies of established government have come to a more sympathetic understanding of this position.

There has been an unbroken series of consistent corporate statements on the iniquity of war from 1660 to 1939. We propose to quote only two or three of them, for this consistency is well known and even to a degree respected by all intelligent persons. In 1660 we find the first of these official statements addressed to Charles II by George Fox and five other Friends: "We utterly deny all outward wars and strife, and fightings with outward weapons, for any end, or pretence whatever; this is our testimony to the whole world. The Spirit of Christ by which we are guided, is not changeable, so as once to command us from a thing of evil, and again to move us into it; and we certainly know and testify to the world, that the Spirit of Christ, which leads us unto all truth, will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the Kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdom of this

world. . . . Therefore we cannot learn war any more."

In 1804 the Epistle of London Yearly Meeting stated: "We feel bound explicitly to avow our continued unshaken persuasion that all war is utterly incompatible with the plain precepts of our Divine Lord and Lawgiver, and with the whole spirit and tenor of his Gospel; and that no plea of necessity or of policy, however urgent or peculiar, can avail to release either individuals or nations from the paramount allegiance which they owe unto Him who hath said 'Love your enemies.' "

For over two hundred years the Quakers' position was characterized by their refusal to have any part in war and warlike preparations. As is evident, it was based on straight Christian teaching. It admitted of no "ifs" or "buts"; it was absolute and applied to all kinds of wars, domestic or foreign, offensive or defensive. The main consideration was to keep one's hands clear of the unclean thing. The testimony was essentially negative, but it was and still is sufficient for the requirements of a great many people.

We are familiar nowadays only with defensive wars. There is no other kind avowed by any self-respecting nation. Any position may be turned into one of national defense against somebody or some thing. With this historically recent attempt to dignify war and rehabilitate its damaged reputation, there has come a change which has made the Quaker

position more respectable also. From frequent pronouncements of London Yearly Meeting, early in the present century, we select a few phrases to make clear this shift of emphasis: "The universal Peace that we set before us as our ideal is not a passive condition, in which the virile energies of mankind will atrophy from want of exercise; it is an active movement toward the oneness of all humanity and the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth; it involves participation in a campaign of the most strenuous character against organized forces of evil; and as such it offers unbounded scope for the most consecrated zeal and courage of the most devoted followers of Christ" (1912).

A scathing arraignment of the futility of war from the Quaker standpoint dates from 1920: "Our conviction is that Christianity has this to say to the world: 'Your reliance upon armaments is both wrong and futile. Armaments are the weapons of organized violence and outrage. Their use is a denial of the true laws of good living. They involve the perpetuation of strife. They stand in the way of the true fellowship of men. They impoverish the peoples. They tempt men to evil, and they breed suspicion and fear and the tragic consequences thereof. They are therefore not legitimate weapons in the Christian armory nor are they sources of security. You cannot foster harmony by the apparatus of discord, nor cherish goodwill by the equipment of hate. But it is by harmony and goodwill that human

security can be obtained. Armaments aim at a security in isolation; but such would at best be utterly precarious, and is as a matter of fact, illusory. The only true safety is the safety of all, and unless your weapon of defence achieves this work, or works towards this, it is a source of antagonism, and therefore of increased peril' " (1920).

And finally from American Friends we have this: "The first contribution our Society should make in the period of fear and hate and violence is a spirit of love and tolerance toward all peoples, whether they be Germans, Japanese, Arabs or Jews. It is our fundamental point of view to condemn the war method, whether it be conducted by the dropping of bombs on helpless women and children or by boycotting helpless women or children. Both are equally inhuman and contrary to Friends' principles" (1939).

We can see now what has happened in the development of the Quaker Peace testimony since 1660. Based first upon a religious understanding of the teachings of Christ, it was essentially negative. Quakers said firmly: "We won't fight under any conditions because war is wrong, and we will not kill our fellow-men. 'That of God in every man' makes every man our brother, and we will not put to death what has in it a seed of the divine. You may do what you like with us. We are not afraid to die, but we will not fight." This attitude has in it the making of heroes, but it has not stopped war. The real reason for the progress from a passive to an active attitude

lies in the fact that the Quakers themselves were not satisfied with the passive position. They demanded an affirmative position on which to stand. They might "get by" with passive resistance because governments and society felt some respect for a religious position courageously held over a long period of time. But it was more satisfying to be an "activist" than a "passivist."

The Affirmative Side

There has never been any serious charge made that Quakers were cowards or that they were poor citizens. The charge has been that they were incorrigible idealists—as one Englishman said, the "confoundest" people to deal with—living with their heads in the sand of a world that was hell. The Friends admit, indeed, that the world has some infernal aspects, but they claim to be the genuine realists. They cannot, in the nature of the case, fail to be protected by the warlike preparations of their fellow-citizens who believe in war. But they do not trust in the philosophy of force and are prepared to place all their confidence in a philosophy of active and thoroughgoing good will. They say that the latter is what triumphs in human relations, because it figuratively disarms the other party: good calls out good; it follows suit. It has not proved to be a failure in international affairs, because it has scarcely been tried; whereas the failure of force has been

accompanied by the denial of every moral virtue except courage. Courage can be shown in ways acceptable to Quakers besides that involving wholesale murder.

If the Quakers were in on the ground floor of every domestic and international dispute, they have a remedy which they think would work. They use it in every other relation of life and it works. We have seen the principle applied throughout this book: love wins out every time in dealing with normal beings. But in the exceptional case, when dealing with a foe beyond the reach of intelligence and kindness, the Quaker will be killed, and he realizes that fact. But in being killed, he will not have betrayed every ideal he holds dear. Do not misunderstand the Quaker's position on this point: he does not claim that his method will *always* work, but he does claim that it works in most cases, having the backing of eternal moral forces; whereas the method of armed resistance cannot be successful in more than fifty per cent of the cases, and has to take all the loss of moral treasure in addition.

No nation can have its own way all the time. It cannot make itself so strong as to avoid being effectively challenged. We see that at present. But St. James was right about wars arising from the lusts in our members, that is, from wanting something so much that we are willing to commit assault and mayhem upon anyone who tries to stop us. The Quakers have a way of preventing this situation. It

is, first, to be perfectly clear oneself of harboring any such lust for what belongs to another. Let there be no envy, no covetousness in the domain of territory, trade, privilege, racial discrimination or religious faith. Second, treat all men as brothers open to the approach of good will and kind treatment implied in the willingness to sit down together and talk reasonably. Third, be ready and willing to live up to any decision arrived at by methods of arbitration. The Quakers have never had a chance, except in Pennsylvania with the Indians and in Rhode Island, to test their theory on the international stage. It has been tested in local disputes, not only by them but by everyone else who arbitrates a troubled situation, and it is recognized as the only future hope of reaching mutually satisfactory agreements. If such a situation could only be created in which an international dispute was left by both sides in the hands of the Quakers, they would "go to the mat" in defense of the practicality of their theory. It avoids evil and produces unity.

But that has not happened, and the Quakers actually find themselves citizens of countries armed to the teeth and prepared to let every moral consideration go by the board in defense of their rights. Now Friends are human and suffer like everyone else when they see "truth on the scaffold" and barbarism enthroned. They realize that they cannot practically inject their method into the midst of a society proceeding upon a totally different philosophy of force—

a philosophy whose validity they totally deny. They find themselves in strife, wishing to throw all their effort into action whose validity they trust. Human desire to participate, conscience urging them on to do their part, religious and moral philosophy telling them that no wisdom lies along the beaten but hopeless path followed by their fellow-citizens—all these things call them to action. Evil is to be overcome by good, not by more evil. Active good will has got to replace resounding hate. You cannot go this Quaker way with water on both shoulders. You cannot curse the enemy, and foam at the mouth and make silly boasting speeches in one moment, and then ask the draft board to let you off as a conscientious objector to war. That is not playing the game. We are said to be in a free country: people who hate are allowed to fight and take the consequences; those who wish to live another way should be allowed to do so, even if it leads to death from a firing-squad or while picking up dead bodies under fire. The totalitarian supremacy of the State is as foreign to Quaker thought now as it was in the seventeenth century. Quakers are democratic through and through in every relation of life, and their fellow-citizens in the democracies may confidently count upon their unceasing support of democratic methods of procedure.

Most good Christians who deplore war admit the *status quo* and ask "What are we going to do about it? We have to defend ourselves, don't we?" Well, the Quakers do not find any divine injunction to be

sure and take care of ourselves. In fact, the early years of Christian history present some notable examples to the contrary. The Friends have, however, a way out from the *impasse* in which many patriotic Christians find themselves. They say nowadays in the presence of hell on earth, "Let us do the best we know anyhow, instead of doing what we know is wrong and perfectly ineffectual in the long run." For Friends are interested not in iniquitous truces which last twenty years and are then discarded; but in a new world based on a totally different philosophy—a Christian philosophy of good will instead of a pagan philosophy of force. They are seeking a new Heaven and a new earth. It may be that it is worth while to cherish instead of to execrate a body of citizens who believe in actually living in a way which others only talk about as not yet being practicable. There is no disguising the fact that if there is ever to be any better system of human dealings, we have to begin by cleaning out our own houses and accepting the material sacrifices entailed. In creating a new attitude between peoples or hostile parties, there is no use in saying, as in the child's game, "*You* begin." We have to be ready to say "*I'll* begin." It would be something hopeful to see certain nations around a table with such counters as Singapore, Danzig, Panama, the Philippines, Gibraltar, Finland and Abyssinia. "*I'll* begin!"

You see in what position the Quakers find themselves. They are stymied in arranging the world as

they would like to see it, because others are in control who are practicing another philosophy. But no one can keep them from practicing the good will they preach toward their brethren on both sides of the lines. Their religion knows no frontiers. They have made of relief work a specialty. It is their affirmative testimony for peace. They cannot make people stop fighting. But they can show that there are a few people who are still capable of showing good will. They have rendered a service of love in war time.

Service of Love

We are now ready to see how Quakers work when they are allowed to do so in their own way. Much has been written on the subject of Quaker relief and, as stated in the Preface, it is cause for some wonderment as to why this relief is undertaken and how it is effected. The preceding chapters have, it is hoped, made clear why Friends have been drawn to help their fellow-men when victims of war conditions or of other circumstances beyond their control: it is part of their philosophy of how the world ought to be run. There is space here only to indicate what form their relief work has taken abroad and at home, and how it has been organized into an effective system.

Outside of the work for freedmen in America after the Civil War, the first large-scale relief organized

by Friends was that in 1870-1871 by English Quakers for the French civilian population. A large Committee of the War Victims Fund was appointed in October 1870 by London Yearly Meeting and held long sittings several times a week. By May 1871 seventy-five thousand pounds had been contributed, and had been distributed by a personnel of forty men and women in the districts of Metz, Paris and the Loire. Food, clothing, bedding, seeds, agricultural implements, and cattle were provided in large quantities in these stricken regions.

This proved to be valuable social experience, for as soon as the World War began, British Friends were ready to throw themselves again into the breach as soon as conditions in the north of France permitted. A Friends ambulance for service at the front, an extensive system of civilian relief in France, a service of assistance to interned aliens in England, and later a service of counsel for conscientious objectors were the agencies promptly set up. All this was done in response to a message addressed *To Men and Women of Good Will in the British Empire*.

In America also there was a prompt response to this appeal long before the United States entered the war. When 1917 brought a declaration of war from President Wilson, American Friends found themselves in the same condition as their British co-religionists. The American Friends Service Committee was promptly formed, the definite training of young men for relief work began at Haverford, Pennsyl-

vania, and negotiations, which were finally successful, opened with the Government for the furlough of proven conscientious objectors, first to the American Red Cross and finally to the Service Committee for Reconstruction itself. The story of how the sympathy of Government officials was won for this humanitarian service as a substitute for the obligations of the draft has been told by Rufus M. Jones, who was chairman of the Committee and who sat at the very center of the complicated web.² This Committee in Philadelphia drew together for the first time in a major corporate effort all Friends in the United States. Money poured in from Friends, Mennonites, Brethren and others; so did candidates for foreign relief work, chiefly men but also a few women. These candidates were young, some being volunteers and some furloughed from the military camps, and came to Philadelphia from all parts of the country. They were trained in carpentry, house building, agricultural work, social work and French. Both in America and abroad they lived on a schedule and a regime which was carried out in a profound religious atmosphere, the importance of which was stressed from the first. Between 1917 and 1920 six hundred young Americans were sent to France by the Service Committee and at its expense. Working in close co-operation with the units of British Friends and with the American Red Cross, though not subject to it, these American units, or *équipes* as they were called, en-

² *A Service of Love in War Time*, N. Y., 1920.

gaged in practical forms of relief work and reconstruction: evacuation of civilians at one time, rehabilitation of civilians at another, as circumstances permitted, construction and erection of portable houses, medical service, transport of the sick and of maternity cases, distribution of seeds and of domestic animals, help with agricultural labor. Everyone admits that beyond all the material assistance was the value of friendly support which came to the civilian population of France from the cheerful, vigorous youth of America. The sharing of life in the devastated areas without thought of proselyting or of any recompense, was a unique experience for both victims and helpers which has not been forgotten by either.

During 1917-1919 there was a small group of American Friends in certain parts of Russia where the suffering from famine and disease was intense. Here again co-operation with English Friends was close. Medical service, workshops and care of the helpless were undertaken by the brave band of women doctors and nurses in this unit.

Serbia came next in 1919, where a unit of ten young men under two mature leaders gave help chiefly along the same lines as in France: house building, management of an orphanage, and medical care.

Friends from England and America in 1919 were the first to come into contact with Germans in Vienna. They had already done heroic work for Ger-

mans interned in England, but no opportunity to give humanitarian aid to German populations was presented until after peace was made. It is known what the physical effects of the British blockade had been, especially upon children. Immediately after the cessation of hostilities, the health conditions in Austria and Germany were appalling. Clothes, fuel and suitable food were urgently required. It was in July 1919 that the advance guard of English and American Friends reached Berlin "under a deep sense of the need which exists for mutual friendly intercourse and fellowship between those who all belong to the same great human family and who have been separated during these sad years of war!" They began at once, as the Quaker custom is, to visit hospitals, orphanages, day nurseries and children's clinics to study the need and form plans for its relief. The visible evidence of tuberculosis and rickets filled them with dismay. With physical illness went spiritual despair. At Mr. Hoover's request a very competent unit of twenty American Friends went to Germany to distribute the food for which huge contributions began to pour in from all sides, but naturally in large degree from American citizens of German extraction. In order to be practicable and acceptable, it was necessary at the time, as so often under other circumstances, that this relief work should be carried out by an organization with no political affiliations whatsoever. The number of children fed throughout Germany by 40,000 persons

organized in local committees under American oversight rose for a while to 1,200,000. The work in Germany consisted largely of child-feeding and brought the Quakers a degree of national gratitude and friendship which was unique between recent enemies. The reception and hearing accorded to three American Friends by the Gestapo in 1938 on behalf of the Jews can be explained by German memory of the earlier child-feeding.

After Germany came Poland in 1920, where the relief was largely agricultural and anti-typhus. All institutions and organizations in these foreign countries were eventually turned over to the local authorities for administration or liquidation, and a kind of peace-time lull between wars settled upon Europe. As a result of the contacts established through relief, it appeared desirable to establish certain centres in Europe from which the spirit of helpfulness and friendliness might continue to radiate after practical aid was no longer needed. Consequently, during the past twenty years English and American Friends have collaborated in maintaining "centres" of good will in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Geneva and this year in Rome. Tokio and Shanghai centres have also been recently set up in the Eastern danger zone. As a result of Friends living in these centres, there has been an encouraging development of Quakerism in Germany and France, in addition to Holland, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. The international character of the Society was very evident at the

World Conference of Friends held at Philadelphia in 1937.

The only important foreign relief undertaken in recent times has been the feeding programme in Spain during and after the civil war there, and at present the feeding of children in "unoccupied France." The personnel required for feeding is not so great as for reconstruction. After the required permission from the authorities, military or civil, has been obtained, and preparation for the shipping and entrance of food and medicines has been effected, a comparatively small personnel suffices to oversee the distribution through local committes. In some cases there have been serious difficulties in the way, but the impression is quite general that "the Quakers can do it, if anyone can." Americans are now anxious to contribute toward the feeding of French children, and the Friends are equipped to act as trusted agents in this work.

After the foreign relief work incident to the World War was cleaned up, the American Friends Service Committee decided there was enough to do at home to warrant its continued existence. Social and peace workers would be interested in the story of the following enterprises, but we can only mention them here: a study of the plight of the southern sharecroppers; the social and occupational relief of the population in deserted mining districts of West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Tennessee; organization of young people in peace caravans during

the summer vacations; the creation of ten work camp projects in different parts of the country, where some useful construction is undertaken for a community without cost to it. Originally confined to summer time, some of these camps now exist all the year round, and conscientious objectors of military age will be allowed by the Government to live in these camps and engage in hard but useful labor "of national importance." In addition to these enterprises there has developed in the past two years an urgent need of Quaker assistance in the removal and relief of Jews from countries in which they were oppressed. Jewish organizations have contributed largely to this work, but the existence of Friends' Centres in Europe together with the international character of the Society has made its role inevitable at such a time. Many Jews have been assisted financially and in other ways to reach new homes in more favorable localities where they may have some hope and spiritual encouragement to begin a new life. Several hostels have been created in different parts of the country where several score of Jewish refugees, many of them professional men and women, have been received and initiated into American ideals and manner of life. Finally, and perhaps not least important, the Service Committee has detailed some of its competent members to travel about Europe and Asia, where their movements are permitted, in order to keep open the routes of friendship and good will between individuals in the warring countries. An ex-

perienced American diplomat has observed that there was no more valuable service that the Friends could render at the present time in Europe.

It is probably evident by this time why Friends engage in this sort of activity, for their whole philosophy, based on the avoidance of evil and the creation of unity, drives them to it. But it may not be so evident *how* they accomplish what they do. A few reasons may be advanced by way of review of what has already been stressed in earlier chapters of this book. First, Quaker children are impressed in their schools with the international character of the Society and of their responsibilities to it. For them, as young people, it is quite natural to volunteer for any social work at home or abroad for which they are deemed competent. They realize that this practical participation is a required carry-over of their religious profession. Second, and as a consequence, the Friends have at their disposal quite a large number of trained men and women who have had medical, social, financial, business and manual experience in relief work; due to the close contacts of the Society, these persons are well known to each other. Third, the importance of this service looms so large in the Society's thought that men with grave responsibilities have always been found ready in England and America to lay down all their ordinary duties at home for the sake of a humanitarian appeal. In this readiness to go when called, they are seconded by their business associates who willingly release them

for such service. Leaders in their home communities have thus been furloughed to conduct "enterprises of great pith and moment" in which great sums of money have been entrusted to their skilled administration. Lastly, as has been seen, the Quakers have no elaborate and costly ecclesiastical system to keep up at home. Their religious faith and practice require little expenditure of money. Their democratic set-up encourages self-reliance and intrepidity in an adventure of service. They travel light and are ready to be off after a few days' notice like a flying squadron upon any errand of mercy to which they may be assigned under the leading of the Society's judgment. How such judgments are arrived at has been seen: the wisdom of such judgments is safeguarded by examining them in the light of a Wisdom from above.

As a last minute record on the subject of this chapter the following announcement of the American Friends Service Committee, dated December 11, 1940, is pertinent:

"At the moment American Quaker workers in Unoccupied France are feeding more than thirty thousand children daily. These include ten thousand new-born infants that are given milk. About twenty thousand school children receive milk and rice at schools to supplement their meager diet at home. Orphaned and abandoned children of various nationalities, many of whom are in concentration camps,

are wholly cared for by the Committee's representatives. Despite the British Government's foreboding that the furnishing of foods to Europe might be a military advantage to the Germans, the American Friends Service Committee cannot express too strongly the complete independence with which it works in France and the absolute control which it has over its supplies from the moment of arrival to the point of consumption. The bulk of the foodstuffs used by the American Quakers is purchased in Switzerland. Some foods are purchased locally for free distribution to the destitute. These purchases are costing about \$70,000 a month. We hope that we may continue to receive generous support from Americans of good-will for the continuance and expansion of this work.

"Insofar as the American Friends Service Committee is concerned, there is no debate and there is no controversy. The facts are very simple and proved to our utmost satisfaction. We know by personal contact with the people in Southern France that literally millions are undernourished and some are starving. We know that concentration camps are filled with hungry and ill-clad people who are destitute and dependent upon charity from overseas. We know from examination of thousands of children in France that they are physically unable to withstand the rigors of winter or overcome the prevalence of diseases due to lack of food, clothing, shelter, and soap. If we cannot answer all the questions concern-

ing the total food resources of Europe, we at least know that whether there is an abundance of food or not, untold numbers of people are incapable of getting any.

"The Service Committee is probably as well informed of the conditions in Europe as any private or governmental agency in America today. Basing our actions solely upon our experience in relief administration, we can assert categorically that there is no danger of seizure of our supplies by military authorities or interference with our administration. We have worked with complete accord with all governments concerned in Poland and in France. We have been invited to extend relief to the people of Norway and Holland with the understanding that we would set up our own controls and satisfy ourselves as to the needs. It is on such rather practical and simple terms that we base our plea to the American people to aid and abet the feeding of innocent civilians suffering the ravages of war, especially the children and expectant and nursing mothers. We see no possible military advantage accruing to any government from such disinterested service. We can argue it as strongly for the children of one country as for those of another. The question of partisanship should not enter the case."

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

THERE ARE a great many people who belong to other communions but who may be described as being on the fringe of Quakerism. There are two clear reasons for their existence in this category: first, the unfortunate disownment of members for bearing arms or for marrying "out of Meeting," which latter process went on all through the nineteenth century, and which threw thousands of men and women and consequently their descendants into the fellowship of other denominations; second, the migration of families or individuals into parts of the country where there was no Friends Meeting of the kind to which they were accustomed, has gradually estranged them from the ties and duties of active participation in the Society's affairs. There is no more common experience for a Quaker speaker than to have people come up to him and say "My people were all Quakers, but my grandfather was put out of Meeting for marrying my grandmother." The tragedy to the Society caused by this policy cannot be estimated. It was adopted in an attempt to keep the Society faithful to its testimonies and peculiar tenets, but that does not help us now: the damage has been done. Those who have moved outside the sphere of Quaker influ-

ence present a different problem. Their loss is involuntary and is no one's fault. Many of them could be reached by a more energetic system of reclamation than has yet been tried.

To offset these two classes of persons whose loss is so deeply regretted, there is another considerable and widely scattered category of people who have come to be called "Friends of the Friends." These people are valuable assets. They are to be found chiefly among the intelligentsia in university and college communities. They have been attracted to the Society by the social and humanitarian activities of the Quakers at home and abroad. They have in many cases retained their membership in some other communion, but they follow the expression of Quaker thought, read Quaker literature, and subscribe to the relief work organized and supported by Friends. Sometimes they are not able to comply intellectually with the more exacting demands of certain creeds and find themselves in harmony with the simpler expression of Quaker faith. Chiefly, however, it is the overflow from faith to works in the humanitarian field which has caught them up. These friends of the Society are individually here and there joining in full membership "by conviction." They constitute a precious group, from whose influence upon the Society much may reasonably be expected in the future.

To all those who for one reason or another find themselves in this fringe of Quakerism this brief ac-

count of Quaker faith and practice may prove of interest. It is hoped that some who have forgotten their heritage may be reminded of it, and that some who have respected the Quaker philosophy without understanding its spiritual basis may apprehend it more clearly.

Every effort has been made to be fair in this presentation of Quaker religious philosophy. When we recall what has been suffered in order to establish the religious liberty we now enjoy to interpret spiritual truth as we see it, we are filled with a sense of our shortcomings. The influence of this truth in the world today is pitifully meagre, not because the truth is unsatisfying, but because the interpreters of it are so inadequate. To pretend that the Quaker way of life is being lived in all its possible beauty by 110,000 Quakers in the United States and by some 20,000 in the British Isles would be grossly untrue; it were better to have spoken only of the little groups of faithful Friends in China, Japan, France and Germany who are showing us again, as did our ancestors of preceding centuries, what this way of life may involve of heroic sacrifice in times of moral devastation. No satisfactory excuse can be made for our failure to live up to our high calling.

And yet, the beauty of the theory still stands, set forth in the lives of men and women like us over a period of nearly three hundred years. At no time has the truth been without some witnesses, souls of iron, as gentle and tender as they were brave and uncom-

promising. Human organizations are subject to the weakness and inconsistency of individuals. But where some have failed, others may succeed. The accession of new members "by conviction" has brought new and vigorous personalities into many Meetings. And great hope is entertained of an awakened interest among the young people in the Society. They are getting under the weight of the problems which face organized religion in these days, and are demanding that a vital faith shall be expressed in terms of daily life. Quakerism was originally a religion for youth, full of zeal and ready for spiritual adventure. May the youth of today take their full share of responsibility and bring back into the Society some of that pliancy and adaptability which made their ancient forebears ready to face any issue which the Holy Spirit opened before them! The prophecy of Joel, so often repeated with yearning since his day, still rings with hope for those who believe in the eternal power of the Spirit over the hearts and souls of men: "And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions."

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